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MANNERS AND HUMORS OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER¹

BY THOMAS D. CLARK

For nearly one hundred years, the frontier attracted American interest westward. This frontier, however, was not alone a matter of geography, but likewise a state of the American mind, a love of land, a political theory, a change in speech, a new national economy, and a source for literary beginnings. From the end of the gangplanks of Atlantic immigrant ships to the doorway of the shaggiest cabin on the Missouri frontier, the magic word was "Westward." The West, to the harassed easterner, was a land of escape, a land where a man could escape the rantings of an overbearing wife, the wail of an illegitimate child, or the rugged clutches of the law. He might even escape from poverty. Having once put the Alleghenies behind him, he was assured that not too many questions would be asked if he showed little inclination to talk. To many, it was a great place for "gittin' off" if an embarrassing situation developed, for in one night an individual could slip away into oblivion.

Eager settlers, bringing wives, children, and milk cows, either entered the land through the Cumberland Gap or floated down the Ohio river on flatboats to a land that was fertile and practically free. Here corn was grown without too much trouble; cows were bred, belled, and turned loose to increase; hogs gathered mast; and sheep supplied a source of fiber for clothing.

This onrush westward became a national phenomenon. Hardly a contemporary commented upon the West without either making a direct statement of or hinting at the general eagerness on the part of the people to move on into the "new country." Timothy Flint, in describing his first year in Missouri, said, "We entertained many respectable strangers from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Kentucky." Among Flint's

¹An address delivered at the annual banquet of the State Historical Society of Missouri, held in Columbia on May 21, 1940.

visitors was Judge Tucker who had come from Virginia, bringing with him families from the four southern states.²

Some years later, Charles Fenno Hoffman overtook a family traveling across Indiana, moving on westward in search of new lands. He rode with them for several miles, and when he decided to rush on in search of a tavern, the head of the family so far forgot that his family was in transit that he hospitably invited the New Englander to stop by their house and spend the night.

Years earlier, Moses Austin, a practical-minded man who was satisfying the urge to move westward, overtook eager settlers on their way to Kentucky. Stories of the fertile blue-grass country had spread over the seaboard. Here, it was said, a man could be an independent, decent human being. As yet, Episcopalians, constables, and gullies had not entrenched themselves. In conversation with one party of travelers, Austin asked, "Have you got any [land]?" "No," replied the immigrant, "but I expect I can git it." "Have you got anything to pay for land?" "No." "Did you ever see the country?" "No, but everybody says it's good land . . ."³

People came from everywhere to the frontier; as the frontier advanced westward, they moved with it. There was old Squire Ezekiel Hagan who had moved from Virginia to western Carolina and then to Tennessee, and when land hunters came in with good news from Arkansas and Missouri he planned to "git on." The Squire had moved so many times that he had broken up and thrown away a "sight" of plunder, but still he had enough for a sale. To his Tennessee neighbors, he advertised thus in his own colorful language and style of spelling:

NOTISS.

THE SUBSCRIBER WILL repose for sail AT MY HOUSE, ALL HIS FURNITUR TO WITT: a two whele cart a yoke of stiers one cretur two bedstids a wonnut cubbered one crib of korn a flok of geoses two skillets and a oving with a broken leg seven cheers a yanky clock 4 emty barls 1 ches press one rifel two shot guns ditto the old oman's spinnin' whele and other truk to numerous to particularize.⁴

²Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, pp. 197-98.

³Barker, Eugene C., *The Life of Stephen F. Austin*, p. 8.

⁴*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVI (June 27, 1846), p. 206.

Once across the mountains and safely planted upon the frontier lands, the immigrant in many instances became a "rambunctious" individual, or at least his observers have pictured him in such a light. Travelers visiting this country in years to come were quite startled at some of the things they saw. Perhaps, to be more specific, they were even more startled at the people with whom they were forced to eat and sleep. A Missouri lawyer, describing life around a county seat, said that the legal satellites were forced to sleep crowded into beds with each other; this meant in general, lawyers, travelers, neighbors, and miscellaneous visitors.

This observer said further that, "Those who have traveled in the West well know that the luxury of a bed to one's self is not often to be obtained. Fortunate is he who, in a crowded tavern, has but one 'stranger' thrust in the same bed with himself."

On one occasion, this lawyer was trapped by the hangers-on around the county seat of Gasconade county. The lawyers visiting the court were all piled up in two beds, and the judge was lodged in the family room. In the night, a rain blew up and drove the "woods sleepers" into the lawyer's room. Soon there were so many "tromping," jabbering, joking, swearing rowdies tramping the lawyer's clothes underfoot that not even a "fice" dog could make his way through the room.⁵

It is an easy matter to imagine the disdain of a proud and haughty foreign traveler who found himself faced with the proposition of sleeping with several rude bedfellows. The pompous William Faux recorded in his *Journal* on October 18, 1819, that "I reached a poor log house [near Chillicothe, Ohio], to lodge in, full of mean company, who must be treated with as much respect as the highest, and so I treat them, and receive much kindness in return."⁶

Somewhat later than Faux's visit, the proud Italian, Count Arese, in traveling through the West, found himself thrown into a jubilant company of 640 passengers aboard a dirty

⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. XVI (September 5, 1846), pp. 415-16.

⁶Faux, [William], *Memorable Days in America: Being a Journal of a Tour to the United States*, pp. 182-86.

steamboat. The disdainful Latin made the following comment:

A regular little tower of Babel, except for a dozen well-bred people, Among whom I do myself the honor of counting myself, although my ruined clothing would not give me the right to—and about a dozen more who permitted themselves the sweet illusion that they were well-bred too, but who really were not. The rest was nothing but a horrible mixture of Irish, Germans, and Kentuckians or something resembling them."⁷

Count Arese showed a remarkable lack of that rollicking good humor and imagination which characterized that devilish band of actors who barnstormed the frontier, headed by Sam Drake, Sr. Among these vagabonds of high drama and rare good humor were the Drakes, father, son, and daughter, Miss Denny, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, Mr. Hull, Joe Tracy, and N. M. Ludlow. They had received favorable reports on the possibility of rich theatrical pickings on the frontier, and in the year 1815, they set forth to exploit this new field.

Traveling by flatboat, this Thespian corps depended upon riverside farm houses and taverns for sleeping accommodations. The party, on one evening, drove a bargain with a crafty Pennsylvania farmer for two beds and a cot for the night. Before they could move their dunnage into the room, two vile-smelling Dutch mule drovers landed a flatboat loaded with mules and engaged one of the beds. To lose a bed was bad, but to have to spend the night inhaling the effluvia of two pipe-smoking, mule-driving Dutchmen was more than sensitive nostrils of aesthetic actors could forego. The landlord was a stubborn slicker who refused to move the mulish Dutchmen, and the Drake party could not pick them up by the scruff of the neck and land them outside.

Here was a situation which required subtle handling. Sam Drake, Jr., a merry devil, hit upon the comical idea of playing the ghost scene from *Hamlet*. A ghost was rigged out in the white cloth from the actors' boat. Added to this, were a more eerie curlicues to make certain that the ghost's appearance would be immediately impressive upon a sluggish German imagination.

⁷Arese, Francesco, *A Trip to the Prairies and in the Interior of North America* [1837-1838], p. 152.

At a given moment, a cock crew in a strange off-key tone, and the players began reciting the lines from *Hamlet* leading up to the appearance of the pallid specter. One of the mule skinnners had removed his boots and trousers and was sleeping the sleep of the weary, if not of the just. His paunchy companion was sitting on the side of the bed philosophically smoking his pipe and removing his boots when the ghoulish visitor glided through the window and beckoned ever so gently to him. The mule drover drew back in surprise and fright, staring wildly at his unwelcome caller. He shouted hysterically, "Mein Gott! Vas is das?"

The actors blocked the door, while the frightened "Rhinelander" turned to his sleeping companion, shaking him and shouting in his ear, "Hans! Hans! Oh, Gott in Himmel! Hans wache auf." When the snoring drover sat up, he stared the beckoning specter squarely in the face. Both men were now quivering like aspen leaves. Hans, being a frugal soul, even in the face of fear, gathered up his boots and trousers preparatory to a hurried flight out into the open world.⁸

While the undesirable bedfellows were getting organized to take flight, their imaginations were considerably stimulated by Sam Drake who delivered in his best and most sepulchral Shakespearean tone:

Angels and ministers of grace defend us!
Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned?
Bring with thee airs from Heaven or blasts from Hell?
Be thy intent wicked or charitable?
Thou comest in such questionable shape,
That I will speak to thee!
Say—Why is this? Wherefore? What
Should we do?⁹

By the time Drake's quavering voice asked, "What should we do?" the mulemasters were safely aboard their flatboat and adrift down the river. Only a faint aroma of pipes and mules remained.

⁸Ludlow, Noah M., *Dramatic Life as I Found It: A Record of Personal Experiences, With an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Drama in the West and South*, pp. 47-50.

⁹*Ibid.*

Crowded steamboat cabins were next to bug-infested tavern rooms for discomfort. Hot steamboat cabins must have conjured up even more realistic pictures of hell than did all the impassioned sermons of the imaginative circuit riders on the frontier. A young man named Robert Toland visited the Hart family in Lexington, Kentucky, in June, 1815. From Lexington, Toland went to Limestone and then on to Maysville, where he boarded one of the earliest steamboats to ply upstream on the Ohio. His journey was a sore trial, and there is something pathetically earnest in his description of it. On July 13, he wrote John Hart:

We got to Limestone on Sunday morn and Tuesday before I got awake we started in the steamboat—I say before I got awake—because I am sure that if I had been in my senses I should never have cooped myself up in such a hot and dirty hole. You Democrats call the English men-of-war floating hells, but I think the steamboat comes nearer the idea I have formed of such a place than anything I have yet seen. The servants were most ineffably dirty, the water thick with mud & I expect the heat in the cabin must have exceeded 135° of Fahrenheit. However, we had a pleasant company and Mr. Touse's violin, when we could prevail on him to play, seemed to suspend all our sufferings. Mr. Burnet & his family were very amicable, but we had an old Irish woman on hand with two children that slept in the gentlem'n's cabin & every morning about daylight one of the damned brats fell out of bed—that was the signal for a squabble & between them they used to keep it up constantly day & night.¹⁰

Most early steamboat traveling was a trial at best, unless the traveler was so fortunate as to go aboard a good boat, and had the money to afford top accommodations. But when a traveler especially a foreign one, got caught aboard a clap-trap boat in low water, the trials and tribulations were many. Such a case was that of a rather profane, but long-suffering, Gallic visitor who boarded an Ohio steamer in "Peetsburg." In the description of this irascible visitor to a friend, he said:

Well, Monsieur, you see I got on the boat at Peetsburg, to come down ze river to Louisville. "*La belle Riviere*," you call him, I think him an ugly lettle, vat you call him? ah, oui, branch-river vera low, vera

¹⁰*Hart Papers*: Letter from Robert Toland to John Hart, dated at Philadelphia, July 13, 1815. (In the Tom Clay collection, deposited with the Security Trust Company, Lexington, Kentucky.)

low indeed—vera many passengers on ze dam little boat—great many lady, vera fine lady indeed. Vell, Monsieur, ve leave ze dam Peetsburg, which smoke my eyes until dem red as if I drink musche whiskey, vat you call red eye, very appropriate name indeed, vera appropriate—as I tel you. Monsieur the river vera low, and ve have gone no far, till “bim!” ve come on ze sand bar, ze captaine run on ze top of ze boat, and hollo “back vatarel back vatarel but ze boat no back vatare—ze captaine zen hollo “get out ze spar and pull over,” but she no pull over. However, presently, perhaps, maybe, bye and bye, ve got off ze bar. Vell Monsieur, ve have no gone more zen one day more down the river, ven, “bim!” ve come on bar again. Ze captain run on ze top of ze boat and hollo, “back vatarel back vatarel!” but ze boat no back vatare, ze captain zen hollo “pull her over, pull her over!” She no pull over, I get very tired looking at ze men go round and round von big post wid big stick stuck in him, and I go to nosser bar and drink my brandy ponch. Vell, Monsieur, ve stay dere, one, two, three day, in ze same dirty leetle boat till we have nossing to eat, ve see on ze shore ver beautiful meadow, vid vare many fine cows—ze lady vish vera musche for some milk, and ze gentlemen say you get in leetle boat vid us, ve drive ze cows to you, and you milk zem. Vell, ze lady get into ze little boat, vat you call ze *yole*, and go vid us to ze meadow—ze lady—vare fine lady indeed—have leetle tin bucket for hold ze milk, ze gentleman go to drive zem round and round, but ze dam cow no go to ze lady, but presently, perhaps, maybe, bye and bye, ve get down vere ze lady stand wid leetle tin bucket to hold ze milk—and vat you tink, Monsieur? Every single one of them vas a bull!¹¹

Sometimes passengers on frontier boats found themselves in precarious situations aboard these vessels. “Ecolier” recites an instance of this sort in his description of a “Running Fight on the Rackensac” in the year 1836. Arkansas was a raw frontier, and Little Rock was a backwoods village where law-abiding citizens and law enforcement were about equally scarce. This particular traveler had taken passage on the *Olive Branch* which he described as “the most quarrelsome, card-playing, whiskey-drinking little craft, it has ever been my misfortune to put my foot upon!” Hardly had this passenger nestled himself down for an easy trip until he discovered that he was to be associated with about “two dozen rough-looking fellows—hunters, planters, traders, and ‘legs! All on their way for the lower country.”

A short distance below Little Rock, the *Olive Branch* pulled into the bank and took on a tall lanky passenger with a hang-

¹¹*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVIII (September 2, 1848), p. 326.

dog look, who was called "The Colonel" around Little Rock. There followed a dialogue in which "The Colonel" asked:

"You'll take me through for two hundred, cap'n?"

"Three hundred, Kernel—three—not a figure less."

"Too much, Cap'n—look at the risk!"

"Oh, hang the risk!"

"Besides, it hurts the repitation of the boat."

"Say you'll take two-seventy."

"No, the even three hundred. I'll take you through as slick as goose grease—I've said it, and by gad I'll do it, in spite of hell."

The trade was made, and "the Colonel" left the boat to be picked up later. Little did the motley collection of passengers realize that they would be victimized in a running gun fight between the captain, his crew, and a sheriff's posse. "The Colonel" was a defaulting gambler who was skipping out of Little Rock. When the sheriff and his posse appeared on the bank armed with long-barrelled Kentucky hog rifles, the Captain was ready. In answer to a passenger's question as to what was to be done if they fired upon him, he shouted, "Let them fire and be damned! Didn't I expect all of that? Here, Bill! Nick! get out the muskets, and make ready to handle 'em! Look out, passengers! go to larboard and keep behind the cabin. Now, Nettles, keep her close to the bank and give 'em a wide berth. Do you hear?"

There followed a running fight for several miles in which the cabin and stacks of that little dove of love and peace, the *Olive Branch* were merrily peppered. Several of the sheriff's men were dropped from their saddles in the exchange of fire, but no one on the steam boat was hurt. The Captain was truly prepared; the cabin was lined with heavy plates, and he had a stand of rifles ready. "The Colonel" was delivered from the clutches of the posse, and sent merrily on his nefarious way to New Orleans.¹³

Naturally very few of the steamers were either equipped for or in the business of running defaulters. None, however, was free from the possibility of blowing up. *Lloyd's Steamboat Directory* gives evidence of this fact, but perhaps a more human, and graphic description of this danger was given in the testimony of one rather stolid but conscientious German expassenger.

Mr. Dietzmar was aboard the *Ol' Kentuck* when her boilers let go near the mouth of the Ohio. Unfortunately for the owners, a trunk and the husband of a "cantaknerous" Mrs. Jones were lost. When Mrs. Jones ungratefully brought

¹³*Ibid.*, Vol. XVI (June 20, 1840), p. 196.

suit to recover damages, especially for the loss of the trunk, the ungentlemanly owners placed upon her the task of proving that her "alleged" husband was aboard the *Ol' Kentuck* when it cracked its boilers. The only eye witness was the wordy Mr. Dietzmar. Counsel for the defense asked the stolid witness:

"Did you know the *Ol' Kentuck*?"

"Yah, I wash blowed up mit her."

"Were you on board when she collapsed her flue?"

"When she bust de bile? Yah, I wash dere!"

"Did you know Mr. Jones?"

"To be sure—Mr. Jones and I took passenger togeder."

"You did? When did you last see Mr. Jones, on board the boat?"

"Well, I didn't see Mr. Jones aboard de boat last time!"

Here the defense was certain he had won his case, yet he asked the perfunctory question, "You did not? Well, Mr. Dietzmar, when did you last see Mr. Jones?"

"Well, when de schmoke pipe and me was going up, we met Mr. Jones coming down."¹¹

Perhaps the most captivating thing of all about the frontiersman was his eternal love of a good story. There were no artificial or synthetic amusements to take the collective mind of the community off of itself, and the gentle art of yarn spinning thrived and reached a new degree of excellence in backwoods literary history.

To begin with, the language in the frontier yarn has a generous touch of colloquial color. The frontier speech was salty in nearly every aspect. Native sons learned to speak in strong and expressive figures and tropes. Perhaps it will never be known who was actually the first man to jump up, click his heels together, crow like a rooster, and proclaim himself to all mankind as half-horse, half-alligator.

There is the famous instance cited by Christian Schultz of the two Kentucky boatmen who quarreled before Natchez. These boatmen proclaimed loudly their reptilian-equine origin. Even the wife of a pious Methodist class member on the Sangamon circuit told Peter Cartwright, when he threatened to lock her out of her cabin for misbehaving, that

¹¹*Ibid.*, Vol. XXI (August 2, 1851), p. 288.

she was "one-half alligator, and the other half snapping turtle."¹⁴

If frontier bullies had been as tough as their bantering made them sound, sparks would have flown all over the land. For instance, one rowdy bantered another with:

I'll have you know I'm a hoss that never war rode, fresh from the stables on the north side of Devil's Creek, shod with steel traps, and rubbed down with essence of thunder cloud. I'm just fed, and at ease, ready for a fight, a shout or a sail, or a turn or a twist. I'm just born in this world for a special purpose; and if you'll put your hand to my throat you can feel the grit all the way up and down my windpipe.¹⁵

Perhaps the account which a superannuated deacon of Arkansas gave F. D. Srygley is much more characteristic of the general frontier vernacular, than the hair-raising banters of the "snapping turtles!" This ancient deacon explained:

When we first settled in Arkansas we jest had to fight almost day and night to keep up the morals in the country. I didn't care a cent fur religion in them days, but I always did stand squar' up for good morals. So did all my folks, an' we jest would have good morality wherever we lived, if we had to lick the whole country ever' day to get it. Arkansaw wuz a awful place in them days, an' I reckon me'n' my folks did more to keep up the morals uv the neighborhoods we lived in, even before any uv us jined the church, than anybody else an' his folks in the whole country.

My father wuz always a law-abid'n' citizen, but he'd fight every time when a man tried to run over the morality uv the country. He fit Uncle Sam Dangrum in North Car'liny, before any uv us ever seen this country, an' bit off his nose—bit the thing clean off up to his head an' swallered it! Uncle Sam Dangrum was tryin' to run over the morals uv the country, an' my father jest couldn't stan' that, an' so they fit, and off came Uncle Sammy's nose. We all called him Uncle Sam, an' so did everybody else, but he won't no nat'ral kin to us. Well, that wuz about the biggest bite any uv my folks ever took, an' it come mighty nigh bein' more'n we all could chaw! You see, it was agin' the law to bite off a man's nose in them days, an' so we all had to light out fur Arkansaw. My mother run away from her folks an' married my father when she wuz fourteen years old, an' she had eighteen children, an' so we made a right smart settlement when we got to Arkansaw.¹⁶

¹⁴Strickland, William P., (ed.), *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, The Backwoods Preacher*, p. 308.

¹⁵Dorton, Richard, *David Crockett, American Comic Legend*, p. 34.

¹⁶Srygley, F. D., *Seventy Years in Dixie: Recollections, Sermons, and Sayings of T. W. Caskey and Others*, p. 239.

Absence of other forms of amusement and a fair amount of leisure time were conducive to interest in stories. The average frontiersman knew everything which happened to his neighbors for several miles around him. As a matter of fact, his thoughts were so commonplace that he even knew the color of the patches on a neighbor's britches. His best yarning, however, was about his personal exploits. He was always audacious in his accounts of fights with "Adam varmint," or with the four-legged kind which prowled through the forest. Fortunately, many of the old liars had moved from one place to another, and there was little danger of their facts being checked upon immediately. They loved to stretch out on the porch of the "grocery," or on the muster ground, or at a logrolling, house-raising, or corn shucking and tell about their experiences back in "Ol' Kaintuck," "back thar in Carliny," or in "Ol' Virginny." Ever-attractive were those stories which had a local setting, and which wound up with a comical bit of community gossip.

Such a story was that of a hospitable, imbibing, inn-keeping Missouri Colonel and a pair of his creek-bottom friends. The Colonel lived in southern Missouri, and his fame was spread far and wide because of his *sweetn'd mixtur*. Nothing pleased the old boniface more than to have visitors appear so that he might rush out and offer them a little of the "mixtur" as a starter. Frequently, an old couple called on the hospitable dispenser of rare "Monongahela red" and imbibed freely of his saccharine offerings. On one occasion, however, the Colonel and his ancient visitors let go and busted their tiller ropes and went the whole hog. This resulted in hard feelings, but at the same time it was excellent stuff for a good neighborhood yarn.

According to a neighborhood narrator, the whole thing started when the visitor rode into the tavern yard with the ol' 'oman behind him on his horse. The Colonel rushed out and greeted them:

"Uncle Merrit, how *are* you, *any* how," and "I declare if the Missus ain't with you, *too*."

When the pair had dismounted, the old host prepared to trot out the pizen.

"What'll you take, Missus? shall I *sweeten* you a little of about *the* best Cincinnati rectified that ever was *toted* into these 'ere parts?—it jest looks as bright as your eyes!" and here the Major winked and looked so sweet that there was no resisting, and *she did* take a little sweeten'd.

The hours flew *merri-ly* by, and evening found the old couple so overloaded with sweets, that it was with great difficulty they could be seated on the old grey mare, to return home; but, after many a kind shake from the host, and just another drop of his sweeten'd, off they jogged, see-sawing from side to side on the critter, the old lady muttering her happiness, and the old man too full to find words to express himself.

"Sich another man as that Major," says she, "ain't nowhere—and sich a mixtur' as he *does* make, is temptin' to temperance lecturers. He is an amazin' nice man, and, if anything, he sweetens the last drop better than the first. Good gracious! what a pleasing creatur' he is!"

Ever and anon these encomiums on the Major and his mixture broke from the old lady, until of a sudden, on passing a small rivulet, a jolt of the mare's silenced them, and the old man rode on a short distance in perfect quietness. At length, he broke out with—

"Old woman, you and that 'ere Major's conduct, today, war *rayther* unbecomin'—his *formalities* war too sweet to be mistook, and you ain't goin' *thar* agin in a hurry."

Silence was the only answer.

"Oh, you're huffy, are you?" continued the old man. "Well, I guess you can stay so, till you give in," and on he jogged, in a silently jealous mood. On arriving at the farm, he called to a negro to lift the old woman off, but *Sam*, the nigger, stood gazing at him in silent astonishment.

"Lift her off, you Sam, do you hear?—and do it carefully, or some of her wrath'll bile out. In spite of the Major's sweetenin' she's mad as thunder."

"Why, de lor', massa, de ole 'oman ain't dar," replied Sam, his eyes standing out of his countenance. "Jest turn round, massa, and satisfy you'self dat de ole 'oman clar gone an missin'—*de lor*!"

And sure enough, on a minute examination by the old man, she was "found missing." The Major was charged at once with abduction, instant measures were taken for pursuit, and a party despatched to scour the roads. On proceeding two miles on the road to the Major's, the party were suddenly halted at the small rivulet, by finding the Missus with her head lying partly in the little stream, its waters laving her lips, and softly murmuring—"Not a drop more, Major, *unless* it's sweeten'd!"¹⁷

There were thousands of stories of a rowdier type. Such a one was that of Panther Evans who was determined to live

¹⁷Robb, John S., *Streaks of Squatter Life, and Far-West Scenes*, pp. 56-59.

in his diggin's in the very best frontier style. This yarn is woven in a fine frontier manner, and of course, in the words of a lolling native.

Maybe you never heered how old Evans got Panther stuck onto his name? Ever since the stampede on the banks of Pela Hatchee, he has been called "Panther Evans," and by no other name. Wall, you must know, first and foremost, that Panther Evans is some, and no mistake—drinks more whiskey, blows it off louder, and is considerably queerer than any other arrangement about Pela Hatchee diggin's. He sets over his drink, without saying a word, till he begins to see varmints; he then always gets up, moves to the door of the "doggerly," looks out and around knowingly, and then blows after this fashion:

"Whew! Whew-w! Moccasin tracks! Injens about, boys!" After this whistling of the safety valve, he goes back again just as quietly as he came out, and takes a "big drink" which generally does his business.

But I s'pose you want to know how he won the panther doin's; hold on a shake, then, till I dampen down, and I'll give it to you.

Wall, you see, Old Evans went out one day turkey hunting on Pela Hatchee—he don't know any other place than that stamping ground. At the time I am talking about, he was some younger than he is now by a good deal. He went out turkey hunting, as I told you—got into a good spot for game—was stooping down and using his "turkey call," when all of a sudden, a big panther, without the least notice of such an intent, came down upon his head, tearing off sundry scalp-locks of hair, and disposed of other mischief. Evans jumped up awful quick, I tell you, skeered to death, and wolfish, too—had his back up immediately, though, and was full of fight. He looked at the panther, and the panther looked at him, and they looked at one another, and there they might have stood to this day, if the panther hadn't concluded it was the best to keep shady, and commenced taking the back track. Evans had got down on his hands and knees in his efforts to reach his rifle, which had fallen to the ground, when the panther growled and showed its teeth, but still kept backing out. It is not known how long Evans remained on all fours, but towards evening one of his neighbors, who chanced to be passing that way, found him in the position I have told you, grinning like a hyena, growling like a panther, and shaking his head awfully.

Now, stranger, don't think this was the way Panther Evans got his name, for it wasn't. He went home that night, and in his sleep he was fighting a number of panthers till midnight, about which time something took place. There was an opening in his cabin which he called a door, and it was shut when the blanket was dropped down on the inner side. In day or night this constituted the only security to the Evans castle. It was about midnight, as I was telling you, when Panther Evans was roused from his dreams of fighting desperately with wild varmints, by a fierce growling in his cabin. He got up at once, and made out the intruder to be the biggest kind of panther. He sat at once for a fight; the panther

growled, and he growled—helping it out considerably by an oath or two, and at it they went, in the darkness of the little cabin, the varmint fighting for food, and Evans because he was savage at the idea of such cussed intrusion—so savage, indeed, that he forgot his Arkansas toothpick, and went into it fisticuff fashion—giving the panther a decided advantage, seeing as how it was armed, for such insects always carry their teeth and paws with them ready for use. Wall, the panther drew first blood, but Evans caught him as he did it, and made his teeth meet in the brute's throat, right on the windpipe. So it went, the panther shaking Evans, and he shaking the panther, and putting in the big licks, at the same time, with his fists and feet. Wall, so it was, till the panther left off shaking, and became as quite as a lamb. Maybe you won't believe it, but when Evans dropped the critter it was stone dead. Its throat had been actually chewed out.

Panther Evans was seen next morning sitting on the carcass, in front of his cabin letting off steam in his usual manner—"Whew! Whe-w! Mocassin tracks! Injens about, boys! Wake snakes! Wh-e-w!"¹⁸

A characteristic of the frontiersman which was a bit startling at times to uninitiated strangers was his unabashed forthrightness. His forthrightness, however, was meant in the best spirit of humor, and never under any circumstances did he actually mean to hurt a stranger's feelings. Usually, a raw joke at a visitor's expense was a simple method of giving him a trial shot to see if "he could take it" good-naturedly; if he could, he was a worth-while addition to the community.

An old Missourian reminiscing about the early frontier of his State recounted that he had attended the meeting of circuit court in a frontier county in company with a young eastern legal neophyte who, unfortunately, had a face that would turn even Panther Evans' grin aside. His face was so plain that it attracted attention, and if there ever was a personal liability on the frontier, a homely face took first rank.

An uncouth, grinning bumpkin approached the young and uncertain lawyer and addressed him: "I say, stranger?" Not realizing that he was to become the butt of a ribald joke, the lawyer asked, "Did you speak to me?" "Yes, I spoke to you," said the "rawhide." "You appear to be a stranger in these parts, and I want to give you a piece of advice. Are you apt to catch cold?" The harassed barrister replied that he was very sensitive to exposure. "Well then, my advice to

¹⁸*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVI (August 8, 1846), p. 281.

you is to take good care of yourself, for if the ugly in your face should sink in it will certainly kill you."¹⁹ By this time, a crowd had gathered around to hear the neighborhood wit "shave the slicker," and the lawyer was humiliated completely by this unwarranted attack upon his facial shortcomings.

Perhaps the eccentric character, George Munday, the "hatless prophet," who wandered over the whole western frontier, had more reason to become even more indignant than did the young lawyer. Unluckily, the wandering prophet came on a tall, lean, and lanky specimen of Hoosier Americana, leaning lazily against the St. Louis courthouse. The Hoosier stared at Munday for a long moment and then broke into a fit of immoderate laughter. Munday asked:

"What do you see so funny in me, to laugh at?" inquired George.

"Why, Hoss," said the Hoosier, "I wur just a thinking ef I'd seed you out in the woods, with all that *har* on, they would have been the d—dest runnin' done by this coon ever seen in them diggin's—you're ekill to the *elephant*! and a leetle the *har*-yest small man I've seen *scari* up lately."²⁰

Seldom did the backwoodsmen have the *long* laugh on the stranger. Usually the Hoosiers, Suckers, Redhorses, and others found themselves on the short end of the log. It might have been true that the motto of the frontier was "a governor is no more than any other man in a fight," but there were times when a native was vulnerable because of his greenness. When a slicker like the American artist, Sam Stockwell, came along, the local son was completely taken in. Sam was busily engaged in painting a panoramic view of the Mississippi river. Due to the frequent showers which blew up the river, he found it necessary to carry a huge parasol to cover his canvas.

On one occasion, he stopped before a squatter's shanty to sketch the river, and as so often happened it was raining and the parasol was at full mast. His rig presented an outlandish appearance, and the squatter showed immediate

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. XVI (September 5, 1846), p. 331.

²⁰Robb, *Streaks of Squatter Life, and Far-West Scenes*, p. 139.

interest in the artist and his queer trappings. He hailed the eccentric painter with a string of questions:

"Look you, you, with that awful ugly hat; what in thunder are you sittin' out thar in the rain for? Who are you? What are you goin' to do?"

Stockwell was equal to the occasion, and he replied, "I am going to 'canvass' the Mississippi." "You're electioneering, are you?" asked the snag. "No, not exactly, except in a small way for my own benefit. I am going to 'take the river.'" "Whar you goin' to take hit to?" inquired the native son.

"All around the country, and over to England."

This was too much, and the bank squatter began to speculate, "Well afore you kin do that, you'll have to git an awful big tub, and sot yourself at the mouth to draw it off."

"No," said Stockwell, "I am drawing it off right now." This was unbelievable to the mud cat who made careful observations at the water line to see how rapidly the stream was falling. He observed that "I don't see as it gits much lower—your suckin' machine draws it off dreadful slow."

This was enough of the river badinage, so Stockwell informed his greenhorn aggravator that he was painting the river, but this only opened the conversation on a new tack. "Hev you got my cabin chalked down?" inquired the screamer. "Yes," replied the artist. "Good, by thunder, and when you show me to them English fellers, jest tell 'em I'm a Mississippi screamer—I kin hoe more corn in a day than any Yankee machine invented, and when I hit anything from a bullock down to human natur' they generally think lightnin's comin'."

"Are you a Taylor man?" asked the artist. "No, by thunder!" "Do you go for Cass, then?" "Well, I calculate not, stranger." "What! Do you support Van Buren?" "No, sir," shouted the streak of lightnin', "I support Betsey and the chillun, and it's damn tight screwin' to get along with them, with corn at only twenty-five cents a bushel." When Stockwell had completed his sketch and pulled down his parasol and retreated from the squatter's stretch of the river, he heard a booming voice shout after him, "Hurrah for General Jackson, the Old Mississipp', and ME AND BETSEY!"²¹

Despite all of the greenness in the hinterland, that is, measured in terms of what the seaboard considered common-place, there was a genuine effort to acquire knowledge. There was a curiosity about the outlandish articles which strangers brought in their ever-fascinating packs. In fact, the curiosity of the backwoodsman was pathetically childish at times.

²¹*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVIII (October 7, 1848), p. 386.

An old timer in Missouri recalled his first visit to Gasconade county as an attorney in search of opportunity.

After going through with my morning ablution (which was performed outdoors and in public), I took out my tooth brush and commenced brushing my teeth. While so engaged, I happened to look up, and found a whole crowd gathered in front of me, regarding the dainty operation I was performing with the most astonishment. Their mouths were wide open, and their eyes intently fixed upon me. At last, one of them, who had recovered a little from his amazement, raised his hands and exclaimed:—"Well! Well! I've seed a power of strange things in this world, but I never before seed a man scrubbing his teeth." "Stranger," said another, "what mout be the matter with your teeth?"

I told him I found the meat in this country rather tough, and that the brush in my hand was a machine newly invented for the purpose of sharpening teeth.

One of them asked permission to look at it. The brush then passed from hand to hand, each one, as he examined it, making some remark about its shape, structure, utility, etc. They all, however, concurred in pronouncing it one of the most curious things they had ever beheld.²²

In their off-handedness, the backwoods greenhorns could do some astonishing things—that is, measured by the modern standards of etiquette.

A Kentucky hoss, fresh from the diggin's, wandered into New Orleans, the city of "hard lots and harlots," and while strolling down its streets where the houses were built flush with the sidewalks, heard the sweet strains of a piano. He sauntered up to the window sill of the room from whence it came and took a seat. He was enraptured with the sweet maidenly voice, singing *Give Me a Cot in the Valley I Love*, and the melodious tones of the piano. When the song was finished, the maiden asked the "hoss":

"Are you fond of music?" "Well, I am that very thing," retorted the blunt son of Ol' Kaintuck.

"Do you play?" asked the maiden. "I can play right smart tunes on the fife, but dam me if I ever saw anyone play on a bureau before!"

"This is what we call a piano, sir. Did you never hear of such an instrument?"

"No, sir-e-e! There's no such critter in our parts as that, but it makes mighty nice music! Can you play *Yankee Doodle* on that machine?" The lady obliged her blunt visitor and began playing the great national

²²*Id.*, Vol. XVI (September 5, 1846), p. 331.

tune with certain variations in arrangement. "Is that Yankee Doodle?" asked the backwoods fifer. "Yes, sir, that is *Yankee Doodle* with variations." "Well," ejaculated the Kentuck, thrusting his bony fists deep into his pockets preparatory to a start, "that may do for you city folks, but give me the naked Yankee Doodle!"³³

Through the greenness of the backwoodsmen there was an honest glimmer of culture. At times ardent efforts were made to encourage the arts, and to cultivate a genuine literary taste. To attain this end, the Sandy creek literary society set out to raise the level of intellectuality in that community. Squire Ben Primm had more than the ordinary ambition in his community for literary things. This good savant gathered his neighbors around him and expounded the idea that the society of Sandy creek should rush headlong into the great and enlightening world of books. His motive was to select books which would "promote *vartue* and *marality* among the rising generation." Selection of the "vartuous and maral" titles was to be by popular nomination from the floor, and after considerable commotion the brethren wound up with a startling list of books which would promote *vartue* and *marality* through the medium of *ancient* and *madern* history. This list included:

The *Bybel*, Hyssop's *Fabbles*, Wats *Sams* and *Hims*, Duncans *Kichors*, Roberson *Cruso*, *Plessurs of Hop*, Moner *Kumferled*, Pol and *Verginy*, Pixe *Rethmetik*, Joolus *Seeser*, *Life of Murl* [Don Murrell], *Skotch Lessens* [Scott's *Lessons*].³⁴

If the frontiersman was somewhat in the dark as to things literary, and the above list would seem to indicate a bit of fumbling in the shadow, he was never unenlightened on the powers running loose in the world. To him, there were three outstanding forces which couldn't be bridled. These were lightning, the Ol' Mississipp', and the Yankees. Lightnin' could hit such a powerful wallop that it would split a shell bark hickory, and if it were greased it was a little too tough to handle. The Ol' Mississipp' was, in the language of the bank squatters, "a contrarious varmint which couldn't be caged."

³³*Ibid.*, Vol. XX (October 26, 1850), p. 424.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. XVI (August 8, 1846), p. 281.

A Yankee, however, was not powerful in the sense that he could land a wallop on humanity's head and leave it stunned, nor could he lay any claim to being "half-horse, half-alligator." Rather, "the son of the granite hills, and the land of wooden nutmegs and pine top gin," exerted his power by being downright determined and clever.

The Yankees who penetrated the West were so clever that the natives oftentimes aped them. There was the famous case of the squatter in the Wabash valley who had made up his mind as to where he wished to live, but for several years he had failed to register his claim.

One day he met a party of land speculators on their way to his diggin's, and he suddenly realized that he was in immediate danger of losing his home. He thought the matter over quickly, and acted at once. He rode headlong at the invaders shouting frantically, "Indians! Indians! The woods are full of Indians, murdering and scalping all before them! Help, Langlois, Cicots! Help!" This was enough, the speculators turned tail and rode like the wind for Crawfordsville. People in the community spent the day in suspense awaiting the arrival of the scalping devils.

In the meantime, the ingenious squatter had collected sufficient funds and had ridden into the county seat to register his claim. Late that afternoon, he rode home smiling and proclaiming proudly, "There's a Yankee trick for you—done by a Hoosier."²⁵

The Yankee of the frontier was generally a peddler. This itinerant merchant came to the backwoods with his wagon loaded with calicoes, cotton checks, gingham, tin cups, iron spoons, coffee pots, spools of thread, papers of pins, cards of horn buttons, cakes of shaving soap, bolts of ribbon, pepper boxes, sausage stuffers, tablecloths, tin plates, knives and forks, "warranted pure steel," razors, neckcloths, handkerchiefs, hose, jew's-harps, wax dolls, clocks, and nutmeg. These hooked-nosed Jonathans were the emissaries of domestic progress. For example, after an ingenious Yankee had worked a community, no housewife would think of baking a pie with-

²⁵Cox, Sanford C., *Recollections of the Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, pp. 51-53.

out giving it a beautiful scalloped edge. Likewise, no one wished to stick to the uncertain method of telling time by guesswork after the advent of the "Yankee" clock. Science was catching up with the frontier movement. The introduction of tinware to the isolated housewives was alone a major scientific accomplishment.

After 1820, the "clacking" of Yankee wagons, and his lonesome whistling was an inseparable part of the civilization in the western woods. One observer said:

There is no part of the inhabited West that has not been visited by the Yankee Clock pedler. He will find his way, with his wagon load of clocks, through a country that any one else would at once pronounce utterly impassable with a wheeled conveyance. If he finds a road already made well and good; otherwise he will make a road for himself. He will, without hesitation, drive into woods never before penetrated by civilized man and will find his way through without accident. He only asks whether any one is living in the country; if so, he will find him out, and sell him a clock.²⁶

Jonathan drove through trackless woods over muddy roads, or over no roads at all and forded swollen streams as nonchalantly as his brethren strolled the streets of Waterbury or Salem. If he were asked how he expected to get his wagon through such a country, he would reply "that the road is not half as bad as some roads he had driven over."

It has been said of the Yankee merchant:

He was never taken by surprise—accidents never came unexpected, and strange events never disconcerted him. He would whistle "Yankee Doodle" while his horses were floundering in a quagmire, and sing "Hail Columbia" while plunging into an unknown river!²⁷

The backwoods peddler seldom lacked ingenuity in merchandising; he packed all his cases in such a way that he could assault the ramparts of a family's sales resistance with telling blows from the first moment he unwound a bolt of calico from around a sausage stuffer, until he pulled forth a pair of cuff buttons from a salt shaker. Too, there was a faint aroma of new goods about his cases which transported

²⁶*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVI (August 29, 1846), p. 314.

²⁷McConnel, John Ludlum, *Western Characters; Or, Types of Border Life in the Western States*, p. 282.

isolated purchasers far beyond their cabin hovels to the grand stores, factories, and towns of the East.

Packing a peddler's case was an art within itself. Conservation of space was a prime necessity. A clumsily arranged bolt of goods might reduce profits by a considerable percentage. The efficient itinerant could pack calico in tinware, ribbons in coffee pots, pins in pepper shakers, buttons in salt cellars, and combs in muffin rings. Perhaps the highest degree of efficiency ever reached by a "down easter" was exemplified by that "hawkbill" who came westward with a valuable cargo of shoes packed in iron coffins.²⁸

The clock was indeed a curious Yankee notion. There was some strange human link between the ticking clock on the wall and its owner. So definite was this link of sentimentality that there were numerous clock fanciers on the frontier who were at once vulnerable to the clever strategy of a Waterbury salesman. When a collector became enmeshed in the web of an ingenious representative of that master craftsman, Seth Thomas, he was not allowed to rest until he had adorned the four walls of his main family room with a ticking treasure. Sometimes a scheming peddler would present new designs by pasting crudely colored pictures of Mt. Vernon, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Jackson in the door of the clock. Jackson especially was a favorite. One Yankee said:

I have some customers who have a *passion* for clocks. There is one man on this road, who has one for every room in his house; and I have another with me now—with a portrait of General Jackson in the front—which I expect to add to his stock. There is a farmer not far from here, with whom I have "traded" clocks every year since I first entered the neighborhood—always receiving about half the value of the article I sell, in money, "to boot."²⁹

This must have been the history of clock peddlers everywhere, for there is apparently no record of a Yankee who failed in business.

Sometimes there were instances where the monotonous ticking of a Yankee clock was highly disturbing to sensitive, nervous, and unappreciative barbarians. Such was the case of a lawyer who put up at the hospitable home of Old Aunt

²⁸Faux, *Memorable Days in America*, pp. 29-30.

²⁹McConnel, *Western Characters*, p. 280.

Patty's down in Gasconade county. Aunt Patty had only one room in her cabin, and there on five beds, ranged against the walls, she bedded down the bench, bar, and public in general.

On this particular occasion, there was a sensitive lawyer who disliked clocks and to his dismay the pride and joy of Aunt Patty's life ticked the inevitable passage of time in its own inimitable manner. The lawyer declared, "I wish that cursed clock would stop—I can't sleep for its infernal ticking. . . . The devil take that Yankee clock. Am I to be kept awake all night by its clatter?" Later, "I can't stand this much longer."

"Tick, tick, tick, tick," continued the mocking Yankee contraption. At last, the lawyer could restrain himself no longer. He jumped to his feet and lambasted the timepiece with a stick of wood, exclaiming with a fiendish glee, as bits of clock clattered to the floor in all parts of the room, "Dam you, that will stop you, if nothing else will."

When the kind Aunt Patty appeared on the scene in the morning, she was heartbroken to find her beloved clock in bits on the floor. "Mercy on us," exclaimed this good woman, "here's my clock all broke to pieces—who done this?"

"Aunt Patty," said the impatient lawyer, "do you know that I came near losing my life last night by your clock?"

"Losing your life," asked Aunt Patty in wild-eyed astonishment. "How so, Mr. S—?"

"I will tell you, Madam," answered S—, with the utmost gravity. "I was lying on the floor before the fire, as usual, when your clock bursted, and the pieces flew like lightning just over my head. It was a wonder I was not killed."

"Mr. S—," said Aunt Patty, "I'm glad you ain't hurt; but I never heard tell of a clock burstin' afore." "You never did?" asked S—; "why sometimes when they get to running too fast, or the works get out of order, they will burst just like the boiler of a steamboat, and kill anybody near them."

"Well, well!" exclaimed the gullible old lady. "If I'd kno'd that I wouldn't had one of 'em in my house for all Gasconade County—that I wouldn't; than' fortun, none on you's hurt."³⁰

There were numerous other elements on the frontier which contributed as much of human interest as some of the factors discussed here. The courts, the quarter races, the musters, the boatmen, the gals, and the "quacks" and "legs" swarmed to the West in search of suckers and fortunes. They, in their original form, are all gone now, but as a body they have left fascinating trails behind them. Without these individuals and the yarns which have outlived them, America would be a far less interesting land today.

³⁰*The Spirit of the Times*, Vol. XVI (August 20, 1846), p. 314.

HAMILTON R. GAMBLE, MISSOURI'S WAR GOVERNOR

BY MARGUERITE POTTER

At an early hour on the morning of January 12, 1861, St. Louis was buzzing with excitement. Main street was a brilliant spectacle; flags of every size and description, busts of Washington, Clay, and Webster, and huge banners bearing the words "John J. Crittenden's Compromise," decked it from one end to the other. At twelve o'clock, a salute of thirty-three guns was fired from the levee and another at two in the afternoon. At noon, all business houses closed, and crowds thronged the streets. Fourth street from Market to Chestnut was a living sea of people. Never before had St. Louis beheld such a meeting; never before had the West displayed such an interest in the fate of the country. By two o'clock, the vast throng was surging around the speaker's stand. Enthusiastic applause greeted the tall, slender, distinguished gentleman who rose to address them. He had the carriage of a general, the sensitive face of a scholar. When he began to speak in slow, deep, resonant tones, the crowd was hushed. Then and there Missourians heard Hamilton R. Gamble, for forty years respected, admired, and trusted throughout the State, take his stand for compromise and against secession.¹

Thus, at a critical time in Missouri history, there returned to her political stage the leader whose statesmanship was to prove a dominant force in shaping the destiny of the State and perhaps, to a lesser degree, of the nation. He came back to St. Louis at a critical moment when people there, as elsewhere in Missouri, were halting between union and secession, and when amid the confused thinking of the time, the persuasive voice of one constructive thinker could formulate and sway public opinion. Tied to the South as he was by blood and sympathy, Gamble overcame his prejudices and placed his loyalty where reason and common sense told him

¹*Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), January 15, 1861.

it should be placed, with the Union. The position of the border states in the conflict was never more perspicuously pointed out than by Gamble, who declared on the floor of the Missouri convention that if Missourians listened to their hearts they would go with the South, but if they were guided by their heads they would stay with the North. From the outset, therefore, it was evident to thinking Missourians that Gamble was unaffected by war hysteria and presented a clear, logical, defensible policy for individuals and the State to pursue. Around him public opinion crystalized. The hour and the man had met!

In Missouri, leadership was a more potent force in keeping the State loyal than in any of the other border states. Men like Gamble worked for the maintenance of State loyalty, unaided by the show of force which materially strengthened leaders in Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. One should not overlook the fact that in Missouri there was lacking the compulsion to loyalty that existed elsewhere along the border. Doubtless, Kentucky was impressed and even awed by the tremendous strength of the Union. Lines of Union troops were constantly whipping down across her bluegrass region as grim reminders of the almost unlimited man-power and the great economic resources which were used to force obedience from the recalcitrant states. The same was true in Maryland and little Delaware; from border to border, rang the unceasing tramp of marching feet. Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky beheld the forts, arsenals, batteries, and supply stations of the North. Across Missouri, though, there were no streams of Union soldiers pouring into the South. Missourians were not constantly impressed with the fact that war was the price of secession, nor were they so forcefully reminded of the superior resources of the North. Lyon's forces and his maneuvers were incentives to secession rather than loyalty. The Mississippi river, which tied Missouri to the South economically, served almost as a barrier between the East and the West and tended to give Missouri a sense of detachment from the North which the other border states lacked. It will be seen, therefore, that the leaders who fought to keep Missouri loyal had a more difficult task than those who hoped to

accomplish the same thing in Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky.

Always in hours of great crisis, there arise leaders who, by virtue of their character, their sanity of judgment, their ability to fire their followers with their enthusiasm and endow them with their vision, enunciate principles and pursue policies that forever alter the course of human destiny. Such a man was Hamilton Rowan Gamble, and to him, more than to any other man, belongs the credit for keeping Missouri in the Union.

When the clouds of secession darkened the South and began to overspread the border, Gamble was living quietly in his Pennsylvania home, removed forever, as he thought, from the political stage of the State in which he had made his fortune and his reputation. Alarmed by the import of what was going on in the Union, and realizing that Missourians would soon be compelled to make what at best would be a grievous choice between the North and the South, Gamble determined to return and do what he could to swing public opinion by showing "one grey head in favor of the Union."² He was a Nehemiah returned to build a wall for his people, a wall against war and disunion. No man was better qualified to do it than he, for his long residence in the State and his wide reputation as a lawyer and jurist had won him an unusual degree of respect and admiration from his fellow men. Although not a native Missourian,³ he had practically grown up with the State. He came into the Territory of Missouri as a young lawyer in 1818 and served as prosecuting attorney in a large frontier district north of the river and later, for a brief period, as secretary of state.⁴ The land disputes growing out of the transfer of the Missouri territory from the Spanish and French into American hands gave Gamble his opportunity. He became the foremost authority on land law in Missouri and one of the best lawyers in the West on constitutional rights. The law firm of Bates and Gamble, a partnership

²*Ibid.*

³He was born in Winchester, Virginia, on November 29, 1798.

⁴*Gamble Papers*: Commission signed by Governor Frederick Bates, November 19, 1824. (Manuscript collection in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

with his brother-in-law, Edwards Bates, counted among its clients a large number of the important men in St. Louis. Gamble had been so absorbed in his profession that his career in public office prior to 1861 had been brief indeed. Elected to the general assembly while he was absent from the State, he served one term. (Later, as a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, he won a high reputation and some of his opinions, notably his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case, won him wide recognition. Ill health led him to resign his judgeship in 1854. Shortly thereafter, in order to provide adequate educational facilities for his children, he established his home in Pennsylvania.

The salient traits of character which enabled Gamble to command such a following among Missourians grew directly out of his experience on the Missouri frontier. As a young prosecuting attorney, his library was limited to the five or six books which he could cram into his saddlebags, and he was forced to prepare his cases as he jogged along on horseback over the fifty or sixty miles of backwoods trails that separated the courts of his circuit. To an unusual degree, therefore, he was forced to depend upon his own common sense and, consequently, his judgment was mature beyond his years. He had a retentive memory and he made it serve him in lieu of a library. So thoroughly did he assimilate all that he read that other lawyers marveled at what seemed to be an inexhaustible storehouse from which he could always draw the needed facts. Those characteristics of self-reliance and self-sufficiency remained with him throughout his life. Calm, dignified, self-possessed, he always appeared perfectly at ease. The confidence which he had in himself caused others to place their confidence in him. He was slow and deliberate in his speech, yet so logical, clear, and forceful that he never left a jury in doubt about the strong points of his own testimony and the weak points of his opponent's. In no sense of the word was he a spectacular orator for he disliked and avoided all kinds of show. His modesty and utter lack of pretension led many to undervalue his real ability, but they changed that opinion once they met him at the bar. Gamble was motivated by high principles from which he would not

deviate for personal gain and which he displayed not only in his profession, but in all the relationships of his life. During his whole career as prosecuting attorney he never failed to gain a verdict when he pressed for it at the conclusion of the case, but often he would say to the jury that on the basis of the evidence he considered the defendant entitled to a verdict of not guilty.⁵ He left a splendid example of integrity in the law.

Because of Gamble's long association with the State, because of the confidence placed in him, Missourians paid heedful respect to his opinions and welcomed him as the champion of peace and the Union.

In view of the tragic circumstances which necessitated Missouri's taking a stand either for or against secession, the legislature determined to place the issue before the people. On January 16, 1861, it authorized the election of a State convention which should have authority to consider the relationship existing between Missouri and the national government. However, the convention was to have no power to alter that relationship except by vote of the people.⁶

In the short, turbulent campaign that followed, three distinct groups emerged, the secessionists led by Governor Jackson, the unconditional Unionists headed by Blair, and the conditional Unionists under the leadership of Gamble. The latter group was so designated because its adherents favored the Union in principle but would not pledge themselves to support it under all circumstances. They were the largest group in the State and they counted among their members the wealthy influential people of the State who feared war because they had much to lose by it. Gamble contended that Missouri would have greater influence in restraining the North from aggressive acts which might precipitate a war if she were not committed in advance to support the North under all circumstances. Likewise, he felt that declarations in opposition to the principle of secession would at the same time serve to deter the South. With his policy of refusing to

⁵*Missouri Republican*, February 4, 1864.

⁶Violette, Eugene M., *A History of Missouri*, p. 328.

hand a blank check to either side, the conditional Unionists were in complete agreement.

Under Gamble's leadership, the stand of the conditional Unionists became increasingly pro-Union during the course of the campaign. At the time they selected their candidates for the State convention, they drew up a declaration of policy which differed in one important respect from the stand they had taken at the mass meeting on January 12. They reaffirmed their advocacy of the Crittenden compromise, and reiterated their belief that the possession of slaves was a "constitutional right," but it is significant to note that they omitted the resolution containing their threat to secede unless that right were recognized and guaranteed.⁷ The party declared further that Missouri would not submit to any attempt by the general government to coerce the seceding states by force, a stand from which Gamble tried to dissuade them. In a carefully written letter in which he accepted their nomination as a delegate to the forthcoming State convention, he pointed out clearly the dangers involved in taking an attitude which would hamstring the general government and expressed his unwillingness to stand for election on such a platform.⁸

On the same day that Jefferson Davis was inaugurated, Missourians went to the polls to vote on the most momentous question ever placed before them. Probably, it is not too much to assume that their vote determined in a great measure the failure of the Confederacy under Davis. The vote was an overwhelming victory for the conditional Unionists. Gamble proved himself the strongest man on the ticket, for he was elected by a vote one-third larger than that cast for any other successful candidate.⁹ Of the ninety-nine men elected, eighty-two had been born in slave states, thirteen in the North, and three in foreign countries.¹⁰ Although decidedly southern in tone, there was not one out-and-out secessionist in the group, a fact which surprised Governor Jackson and the legislature.¹¹ It was well not only for Mis-

⁷*Missouri Republican*, January 15, February 11, 1861.

⁸*Ibid.*, February 11, 1861.

⁹*In Memoriam: Hamilton Rowan Gamble, Governor of Missouri*, p. 75.

¹⁰Violette, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

¹¹Peckham, James, *General Nathaniel Lyon, and Missouri in 1861*, p. 29.

souri, but also for the Union that it was such a man as Gamble whose "legal authority, great circumspection, and personal popularity most happily guided the policy of the Convention."¹²

Immediately following organization, the convention named Hamilton Gamble chairman of the committee on federal relations. It was the duty of this committee to consider the question of secession and recommend a course of action to the convention. Of the group, Gamble was the leader. The other twelve were men of more than average ability; however, they were all at least ten years younger than Gamble, and, although every member was either a practicing lawyer or a judge, none had attained his prominence in the profession or received the wide recognition accorded him throughout the State. In the committee room, they deferred to Gamble's judgment. The report was largely his work. Defending it in the debate which ensued on the floor of the convention, he declared, "I am responsible for every word and sentence in the report, for I wrote it."¹³

The report which the committee submitted to the convention was embodied in seven resolutions. The first was by far the most important, for it contained the pronouncement that all were waiting anxiously to hear: that there was then "no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connections with the Federal Union, but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles as will gain the peace, as well as the rights and equality of all the states."¹⁴ Thus, as Gamble had desired from the first, Missouri was pledged to the Union. He never for a minute admitted the possibility of secession. "No matter what other slave states may do," he remarked on many occasions, "there is no danger of Missouri."¹⁵ Unionists were jubilant, and even secessionists found some cause for rejoicing. Missouri was pledged to the Union. But not under all conditions! At the present there was no "adequate cause," but what of the future? With events moving so swiftly, might not a

¹²Rombauer, Robert J., *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861*, p. 169.

¹³*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, March, 1861, p. 178.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

¹⁵*In Memoriam: Hamilton Rowan Gamble, Governor of Missouri*, p. 6.

fortuitous turn of circumstances provide that "adequate cause?" Every man read the report in the light of his own hopes. To the northerner, it was a pledge of continued loyalty. To the southerner, looking ahead to possible attempts of coercion on the part of the North, it was an invitation to bide his time. To the great mass of Missourians, it was a highly satisfactory document, for above all else they desired peace and union, and the report showed the possibility for restoring both. Although the southerner might hope, the report was basically a Union victory; every day that Missouri remained loyal, Union sentiment grew stronger.

Gamble did more than write the report; he introduced it, defended it, and secured its final adoption. From the time debate began upon it until its final passage, Gamble was almost constantly on the floor. In his opening defense, he pointed out the folly of involving Missouri in a revolution over slavery; even if the South should win, Missouri could scarcely hope to continue as a slave state because of her exposed position. He ended with an appeal for peace. "Missouri was brought forth in a storm and cradled in a compromise. She can resist the one and recommend the other."¹⁶ He was the target for all opposition and almost singlehanded he met and turned back every assailant. Gamble was no orator, but those who met him in that debate soon learned why the greatest orators of the State dreaded to appear against him. Logic was the rapier with which he parried blows and made his thrusts. One after another, those who tried to weaken the report went down in defeat. Gamble would not allow Missouri's hands to be tied by pledging in advance to aid either side. He contended that to commit her to any particular course of action was to lessen her influence in effecting a peaceful settlement. If she were to play the role of peace-maker, she was to be conciliatory and fair to both sides; and, as he pointed out, she could not do that by announcing to the world that she was "prepared to be insulted." Thus, with the adoption of Gamble's report, a month before actual hostilities began, Missouri, with her great man-power, rich

¹⁶*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention, March, 1861, p. 47.*

lead deposits, and strategic command of the two great rivers, took her stand against secession.

One other important step remained to be taken before the first session of the Missouri State convention closed. At Gamble's suggestion, provision was made whereby the convention could be reassembled if the need arose.¹⁷ Within a few months the State was to see the capital city deserted, the governor pursued by an army, the legislature in full flight, and a condition of anarchy prevailing from border to border. Under such circumstances, one wonders what would have happened had the convention adjourned *sine die*.

There was no one in the State and probably no one in the United States who believed more firmly than Gamble that the war could be averted. He believed to the very last that sane statesmanship could have prevented what Lyon, Blair, and others called the "inevitable" conflict. It was this belief which caused him to back every movement for peace. Immediately following the adjournment of the Missouri State convention, he went as a delegate to the border state convention at Frankfort, Kentucky.¹⁸ It must have been apparent from the first, even to him, that the efforts of that group were doomed to failure, for only two states bothered to send representatives.¹⁹ "We ask both sides," Gamble had urged in a speech before the Missouri convention, "to shed no blood. Wait, wait until all peaceful means are exhausted. . . ."²⁰ After all "peaceful means" had failed, he was practically the last man to leave the final meeting for preventing a civil war. With a heavy heart, he returned to his family in Pennsylvania. No doubt, he knew that soon he would have to be back in Missouri, in a Missouri torn by the civil conflict which he dreaded and which he had tried so hard to avert. There, in the midst of war, he was to take up again the work of making peace.

The call came sooner than he had expected. Union men, dismayed at the rash action of Lyon, telegraphed Gamble to

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁸*Missouri Republican*, May 30, 1861.

¹⁹*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, July, 1861, p. 28.

²⁰*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, March, 1861, p. 68.

accompany one of their number to Washington to confer with the president.²¹ Innocent people had been killed; loyal militiamen, including Gamble's own son, had been captured and made prisoners of war. Under Gamble's leadership, Missouri's natural tendency toward secession had been restrained on the grounds that the national government had not taken from the people of Missouri any of their rights and it had been further checked by Lincoln's declaration that "this government will not assail you." Yet, under the leadership of a young hotspur, the national government had assailed a state which professed to be loyal! Gamble, who could never feel that fighting a people was the best way of winning them, saw that Lyon and Blair might easily push Missouri into the arms of the Confederacy and in their rashness undo all that he had accomplished by careful, painstaking diplomacy. In company with Yeatman and Edward Bates, he had an interview with the president. They did not ask that Lyon be removed, but they did insist that Harney be left in command and that regular troops be substituted for the irregular "Dutch Guards."²² Their suggestions were not followed, and Lyon was free to make war upon the State. Had Gamble's counsel prevailed, the course pursued would have been less dramatic than that followed by Lyon, but it certainly would have produced more desirable results. From that point on, Lyon and Blair impugned Gamble's motives. Those who serve their country with the sword often mistrust and misjudge the efforts of those who would do the same by diplomacy.

The chaos that resulted from Lyon's maneuvers necessitated the calling together of the convention. The government had broken down; from county seat to State capital, anarchy reigned. Two courses presented themselves to the harassed convention members. Either they were to submit to the establishment of a military government, which was distasteful to all save a few extremists, or they were to take matters into their own hands and establish a provisional government.

²¹Peckham *op. cit.*, pp. 191-93. *Gamble Papers*: Telegram from Yeatman to Gamble, June 23, 1861.

²²*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Yeatman to Gamble, June 23, 1861.

Gamble was still in Pennsylvania when the session opened, but upon the earnest entreaties of leading Missourians, he returned immediately to St. Louis. "I am persuaded," wrote Edward Bates from Washington, "that your presence in the convention may exert a most benign influence in favor of peace."²³ Samuel T. Glover commented, "What a wind-fall it was that Judge Gamble came to the Convention. It would have been utterly impossible to have got along without him."²⁴

Almost instantly upon arrival, Gamble was thrust forward as the champion of those who favored the establishment of a provisional government. His opponent was Uriel Wright, a fiery orator who contended that the convention had no power to replace the Jackson government. Doubtless Gamble defended the weaker side, but he advocated the course dictated by grim necessity, and public calamity provided him with powerful arguments. Silenced, but not convinced, Wright went down in defeat. On Tuesday, July 30, 1861, the State convention by a vote of 56 to 25 declared the executive offices of the State vacant.²⁵

With a unanimity born of instinctive trust, men of both parties turned to Gamble as the logical leader of the new government. He had always shunned public office and it was only after the most urgent petitions had been made that he submitted to nomination. The vote given for him was an indication of the esteem in which he was held by other members of the convention. Even Uriel Wright, who asked to be excused from voting because he felt the convention had no power to replace the executive, declared, "There is no man in the limits of the State upon whom I would more readily confer the important trust which must devolve upon a chief executive. By all the habitudes of his mind, by the maturity of his intellect, by the solidity of his judgment, by the unstained purity of his moral character, I know of no man . . . who challenges more unqualified approbation than Hamilton

²³*Ibid.*, Letter from Edward Bates to Gamble, July 16, 1861.

²⁴*Broadhead Papers*: Letter from Samuel T. Glover to Broadhead, July 26, 1861. (Manuscript collection in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

²⁵*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, July, 1861, p. 131.

Rowan Gamble."²⁶ Throughout the State, gratification and satisfaction were expressed. The *Missouri Republican* and the *New York Times* expressed their satisfaction in the action of the legislature.²⁷

Gamble entered his office with an alert mind trained in the law, a deep understanding of human nature, an innate love of right, and a predisposition to afford justice to all. He was not an experienced executive, but he commanded the confidence and trust of the people. He was not a politician; he was a man whose actions were dictated by principles of right rather than party polity. Little concerned about personal glory, he allowed men under him to take all the credit for any public service; it was enough for him that the desired end was brought about. As a fellow member of the bar declared some time later, seeing with what fortitude Gamble met the multiple difficulties of office, "His strength was of the Doric order, and granite in its material."²⁸

The new governor turned his hand first to the challenging yet disheartening task of pacifying a turbulent people. The whole State was in confusion. No authoritative voice had been raised to quell the strife until Gamble issued his inaugural address to the people. It was a document characterized, as were all his State papers, by calm dignity, and it did much to quiet Missouri.²⁹ The most outstanding quality Gamble possessed as a lawyer was his ability to go directly to the core of any problem and analyze it objectively. His address shows that from the first he had a thorough grasp of the fundamental problems with which he was to grapple. He turned his attention to the most troublesome of these—slavery, the impending social war, and the amnesty for past offenses.

Loyal and secessionist slaveholders were comforted by his words on the slave question. Since slavery was legal in the State, he had no choice but to pledge himself to enforce the laws concerning it. He removed, as much as he was able, the element of uncertainty which had contributed so largely to

²⁶*Missouri Republican*, August 1, 1861.

²⁷*New York Times*, August 7, 1861.

²⁸*Missouri Republican*, February 4, 1864.

²⁹*Ibid.*, August 5, 1861.

the prevalent agitation. His remarks were not made with the idea that he could thus settle the question, but rather with the hope that if he could diminish its importance in the public mind he would have taken a step in the direction of peace."³⁰

Of equal magnitude and interwoven with the slavery question was the problem of keeping peace among the people. Class had been set against class, neighbor against neighbor, and even families were divided. This condition, soon to produce guerrilla bands that made the war in Missouri so terrible, might be mitigated, Gamble pointed out, if each citizen would refrain from intemperate discussion.³¹ But the governor soon learned that reasonable appeals were unheeded. Time, not reason, is the antidote for popular hysteria and hate.

Upon the assurance that the federal government would cause his promise to be respected, Gamble extended amnesty on August 3, 1861, to all who, having taken up arms under the Jackson government, would voluntarily return to their allegiance.³² Many citizens with no intention of disloyalty had responded to Jackson's call and, unless some plan had been provided by the new government, they would have been forced to remain in the false position in which they found themselves. Numerous letters poured into his office from men who wished to avail themselves of his offer. In each case, Gamble investigated carefully in order to give protection only where it was justified and in order not to overstep his powers. The presence of other legal authorities in the State complicated matters, and the governor was careful to establish his own purview before he acted. He scrupulously avoided assuming any power over cases of martial law declared by Frémont in St. Louis and throughout the State. In such cases, he had no authority to act and he never tried to assume powers not legally his. Likewise, Gamble was cautious not to grant amnesty to anyone who had committed offenses after he had

³⁰*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 281.

³¹*Missouri Republican*, August 5, 1861.

³²*Gamble Papers*: Telegram from Cameron, secretary of war, to Gamble, August 3, 1861.

an opportunity of claiming security under the August proclamation. To give personal attention to these cases was a heavy task but one that paid large dividends.³³

Gamble's position was weakened somewhat by the fact that his government was a provisional rather than a duly elected one. However, he did not consider his administration as an experiment, nor did he for a moment admit the possibility of failure. In his proclamation to the people, he dismissed the subject thus: "I could give you no stronger expression of my deliberate judgment that their [State Convention] action was both constitutional and necessary, than is afforded by my acceptance of the office."³⁴ To Missouri at large, that simple statement, from the man recognized as the greatest constitutional lawyer in the State, sufficed to settle the question. The *Missouri Republican* declared that "the only lawful governor of Missouri is Governor Gamble"³⁵ and that, of course, was the sentiment of many of the outstanding leaders of the State. Yet, like the ghost of Banquo, there came stalking upon the scene the shadow of the old Jackson government. Gamble ignored it, but its continuance was a source of irritation and an actual threat, in event of military failure on the part of the new government. Even the death of Jackson himself did not serve to dissolve this shadow government.³⁶ Strong military forces within the State made its return impossible, but Gamble's opponents hoped that a fortuitous turn of circumstances might make its restoration possible.

The legality of his government caused Gamble less concern than the problem of the restoration and maintenance of peace within the State. If he could solve the latter problem, the former would take care of itself. Before Missouri could be of any aid to the Union at all, internal discord and fighting had to be obliterated. He realized that Missouri with her iron, lead, and hemp resources and with her strategic position on the two great waterways could be a great asset to the

³³*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Major Henry Turner, August 27, 1861.

³⁴*Missouri Republican*, August 5, 1861.

³⁵*Ibid.*, August 1, 1861.

³⁶*Ibid.*, August 29, 1861. See also Randall, James G., *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 329.

Union if internal strife were removed. Gamble did not try to raise a State militia immediately, partly because of his fear that secessionists would enroll for the sake of obtaining arms and partly because of the financial condition of the State. Missouri was bankrupt, interest on the debt was in arrears, and State credit was dead.³⁷ Moreover, the source of income had been shut off. Local government had broken down, tax-books were missing, tax-collectors had gone south, property had fallen in value, and sheriffs were resigning their offices to avoid having to collect the taxes already due from the last year. As late as June, 1862, after comparative quiet had been restored throughout the State, the report of the State auditor showed that only forty-one of the counties had given receipts for the tax-books of the previous year. Even in those counties one-third of the amount due remained to be collected.³⁸

By the last of August, 1861, Gamble felt that lines between secessionists and Union men were sufficiently well drawn and he had enough faith in the true sentiment of the people of the State to proceed to raise a State force. Therefore, on August 24, he issued a proclamation calling for 42,000 volunteers. This was to be a force enrolled for six months "unless peace be sooner restored."³⁹ Gamble's patience was sorely tried by the subsequent delay and difficulty in obtaining the number of troops he desired. Men and officers in the United States regiments, in order to swell their own numbers, represented to the prospective militiamen that there was slight chance of their receiving their pay and the proper clothing and subsistence. The known condition of the State treasury lent color to the arguments of the federal soldiers.⁴⁰ Appeals by Governor Gamble to the brigadier general were of no avail.⁴¹ As a result, not 42,000 but only slightly more than 6,000 entered the State service in response to the governor's call.⁴² The bad feeling thus engendered

³⁷*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1862, pp. 4-5.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹*Gamble Papers*: Copy of General Orders, No. 1.

⁴⁰*Missouri Republican*, August 26, 1861.

⁴¹*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Gamble to Curtis, October 17, 1861. The original of the letter from Gamble to Curtis on October 5, 1861, is not in the collection, but the reply of Curtis is included.

⁴²*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 10.

between the two groups of soldiers continued and although Gamble did what he could to improve matters, Frémont's hostility to the State troops counteracted his work.

The military situation in Missouri was further complicated by the presence of the Home Guards. That force, formed during the early days of secession, proved a source of trouble and irritation from the first. They were an organization "half-soldier, half-citizen" over which the governor had no control whatever. He suggested to the president that they should either be disbanded or else united and disciplined with the regular army.⁴³ Instead, however, under Frémont this force was actually enlarged.

In an effort to procure sufficient funds to maintain a force capable of restoring peace in the State, Gamble proposed a plan to the president whereby the federal government would pay, clothe, and subsist the troops raised in Missouri. Shortly after his inauguration, Gamble sent John S. Phelps to confer with Lincoln on the possibility of working out some plan by which this could be done. Phelps was not successful and Gamble went to Washington to make a personal plea. Although the president would not agree to Gamble's plan, he did agree to grant the governor arms and money to carry out his proclamation. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was to be placed to Gamble's credit in the sub-treasury.⁴⁴ Upon his return to St. Louis ten days later, Gamble was able to assure the people of the State that the provisional government had the moral backing of the administration and that aid was forthcoming. A month elapsed and the promised funds did not arrive. In despair, Gamble wrote to Bates and asked him to investigate. With Gamble's letter in his hand, Bates went immediately to the secretary of the treasury. Chase seemed surprised, because he had ordered the money sent sometime earlier and supposed it was already at Gamble's disposal. He asked Bates to assure the governor that it would be sent immediately, as indeed it was.⁴⁵ There was the same disheartening delay in obtaining arms. Gamble had

⁴³*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Gamble to Lincoln, August 26, 1861.

⁴⁴*Missouri Republican*, September 11, 30, 1861.

⁴⁵*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Edward Bates to Gamble, October 3, 1861.

delegated McPherson to get them for him. After having secured in Washington an order for guns and infantry equipment for 4,000 men, McPherson went immediately to New York to get them. At the New York arsenal, however, he found that only 2,710 guns were available, and they were old patterns of the Springfield musket loaded with ball and buckshot. Even those were obtained with the greatest difficulty, and only then by special order of the president.⁴⁶ Gamble was disappointed; even the full 4,000 would have been insufficient. Bates assured him, "The government is not so much to blame as you may suppose. The demand is very great for Tennessee and Kentucky as well as Missouri."⁴⁷ His words were small comfort to a man who, charged with the task of restoring peace, had to stand helplessly by and see the State ravaged, and had to turn a deaf ear to appeals from Union men for arms with which they could at least have mitigated the conditions. Another trip to Washington was necessary before Gamble was able to convince the president that the only hope was for the national government to do as he had first suggested, arm and subsidize a State militia.

The difficulties which the governor had to face were needlessly augmented by General Frémont, the very man who could have done the most to help make his task lighter. Gamble had expressed gratification over Frémont's appointment and apparently he made an honest and persistent effort to co-operate with the general. Psychologically, the two men were incompatible. Frémont, vainglorious, dictatorial, and intolerant, assumed that Gamble was also avaricious for power and prestige. Personal praise was of little importance to the governor, and he was perfectly willing that Frémont should have it all. Gamble was interested primarily in the restoration of peace and order in the State. Had Frémont taken Gamble into his confidence and been willing to talk with him about the problems in Missouri, surely he would have discovered Gamble's fine spirit of co-operation and unselfishness. Whatever else one may say of Gamble, it can never be truthfully charged that as governor he tried to arro-

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Letter from McPherson to Gamble, October 3, 1861.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Letter from Bates to Gamble, September 27, 1861.

gate praise and power to himself. Frémont gave orders to him as arbitrarily as though he had been a subordinate, refused to grant him interviews, and proceeded from the first on the theory that Gamble was a usurper, trying to assume powers not rightfully his in the hope of appearing more important and powerful than the general himself.

The first friction had developed over the matter of appointments in the militia. Immediately after Gamble assumed office, Frémont telegraphed a demand that Gamble make no appointments without consulting him.⁴⁸ In that case, and in Frémont's subsequent requests, Gamble attempted to co-operate whenever possible. He appointed the adjutant and quartermaster general suggested by Frémont, but he had to refuse to comply with his wishes in regard to appointing brigadiers because he had no power to do so. Under Missouri law, the field officers of the brigades elected the brigadiers. Gamble liked that arrangement no better than Frémont did, but he was powerless to change it. He explained this carefully to Frémont in a letter.⁴⁹ He was surprised twelve days later when Frémont requested that Gamble commission Frank Blair with the rank of brigadier general.⁵⁰ Either Frémont had paid no attention whatever to Gamble's letter—and that is the more plausible reason, since he was hazy on the other facts contained in the letter—or he made the request knowing in advance that Gamble could not legally grant it and thus tossed the hot poker to the governor. If the "hope and pride" of the Blair clan were to be refused a commission, it was better that the refusal came from the governor than from the general; at least, it was better for the general.

The second cause of friction arose when Frémont demanded that the police commissioners of St. Louis be replaced by men of his own selection.⁵¹ He presumptuously ignored Gamble's right to make his own appointments and the fact that legally the commissioners could be removed only upon proof of misconduct. When a vacancy occurred, Gamble did appoint one of the men from Frémont's list; however, he did

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Wire from Kelton to Gamble, August 2, 1861.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Frémont, August 6, 1861.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Letter from Frémont to Gamble, August 18, 1861.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

not make wholesale removals on mere suspicions. He asked Frémont to examine the records of the board and assured him that if there were evidences of misconduct, removals would be made immediately. This the general would not do. Gamble had the books sent to Jefferson City, examined them himself, and when he found evidence strong enough to warrant removals, he made them.⁵² Gamble's unwillingness to make the removals without investigation exasperated the impetuous general; his flat refusal to overstep his authority infuriated Frémont, who had no such scruples.

Probably many in 1861 who felt that Frémont was deliberately trying to cripple the provisional government were unfair to him. Yet, he must bear a heavy responsibility for making a decision that abandoned a very large part of the State to the southerners, a part rich in lead deposits. Lyon, who was in command of the small Union force in southwest Missouri, begged Frémont and Gamble for reinforcements. Although personally Gamble had no great faith in Lyon's judgment, he supported him in his campaign in every way possible and he did everything in his power to make it successful. Both in person and in writing, he begged Frémont to reinforce Lyon, but to no avail.⁵³ The governor's requests were unheeded and Lyon's special messengers cooled their heels on the steps of the Brandt mansion.⁵⁴ Reinforcements were not sent in time to be of any use. The battle of Wilson's Creek was a southern victory. Lyon met his death, and half of the State of Missouri was abandoned to the Confederates. That great defeat, coming as it did closely upon the establishment of the provisional government, lessened Union prestige and made the governor's position even more precarious.

On his way to Washington, D. C., to see the president, Gamble stopped in St. Louis to confer with Frémont. The general was deep in the preparation of the famous emancipation proclamation and refused to grant him an interview. The proclamation came as a complete surprise to Gamble;

⁵²*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Charles Gibson, September 20, 1861.

⁵³*Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 10.

⁵⁴*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Richardson to Gamble, August 10, 1861.

his first information about it was gained from the newspapers.⁵⁵ It ran counter to Gamble's views at nearly every point. He felt it would split the Union forces, as indeed it did; he felt that it would be more politic to try to hold the slave-owners of Union sympathy to the Union rather than to alienate them. He did not consider Missouri as a conquered province, which was the attitude taken by Frémont; he opposed increasing strife by stirring up the slavery question; he resented the implication that civil government had broken down and that military government should take its place. What discussion he and Lincoln had on the subject is not known, but on his return, Gamble brought with him a letter from the president which ordered Frémont to grant him an interview.

As the demand of the president could not be ignored, Frémont arranged to see the governor shortly after his return from Washington. Upon being admitted to Frémont's presence, Gamble handed him the letter Lincoln has sent and waited in silence while he read it through. "Governor," said Frémont, when he had finished, "it is proper that we should be frank. I sent you a list of names of persons whom I wished appointed to offices in the militia in order that I might assign them to positions, and no such appointments were made." In view of his carefully written explanation, this doubtless amazed Gamble; but he very patiently explained the contents of that letter to Frémont, pointing out how his hands were tied in the matter and how he had done everything he could do legally in complying with the request. At the mention of the letter, Frémont acted as if he were trying to recall something that had faded from his memory, and although he admitted having received it, he did not remember its contents. Gamble tried to clear up the entire affair of the police commissioners and other minor matters in order that no misunderstanding might remain. During nearly the whole interview, Frémont sat silent and distracted. Finally, he remarked that his mind was not clear upon the subjects discussed and that he would think them over and communicate later with the governor. After making arrangements for

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Gibson, September 20, 1861.

getting a 10,000 stand of arms within the next sixty days, the governor took his leave.⁵⁶ Commenting to his nephew, he stated, "I expect no arms from him."⁵⁷ He judged correctly, for he got none.

The next day Major Corwin brought the governor a note from Frémont requesting that he call again before he left St. Louis in order that they might go further into the matters they had discussed the day before.⁵⁸ He promised to notify him about a time for the appointment. Gamble agreed.⁵⁹ He waited all the next day, but no word came until that night when he received another note from Corwin.⁶⁰ An interview was arranged for 11 o'clock the next day and precisely at that time Gamble presented himself at Frémont's headquarters. At the desks in the outer office, were several men busily engaged in writing. One of them stopped long enough to state that he had been asked by Frémont to entertain the governor. Some time later, a secretary came into the room, evidently from Frémont's private office, handed some papers to one of the men, and went out. Another long wait ensued. Finally, after having waited nearly an hour, Gamble rose to depart; whereupon, one of the men asked if he would call again before leaving the city. Gamble replied that he would if he found time.⁶¹ He left St. Louis without either seeing or hearing from Frémont again.

All of this was reported to Lincoln through Gamble's nephew and personal agent at Washington, Charles Gibson. Gamble, Gibson, and Bates urged Lincoln to remove Frémont, but their efforts met with no success. When Gamble made his next trip to Washington, he carried with him and presented to Montgomery Blair the charges which Frank Blair, then under arrest at Frémont's order, had entrusted to him.⁶² This embroilment with the Blair clan proved to be the last straw and Frémont was replaced. Unfortunately, the removal

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Gibson, September 20, 1861, giving a very complete account of the interview.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, Telegram from Gamble to Gibson, September 14, 1861.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Letter from Corwin to Gamble, September 12, 1861.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Gibson, September 20, 1861.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Letter from Corwin to Gamble, September 13, 1861.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Gibson, September 20, 1861.

⁶²*Ibid.*, Letter from Gibson to Gamble, September 27, 1861.

of the general did not carry with it the removal of the discord his acts had engendered. His proclamation was the starting point for the division of Union men in the State and that division accounts for much of the unhappy history of the next few years in Missouri.⁶³

By the end of October, 1861, the first crisis of the provisional government was safely past. It had been a trying three months for the new governor. He had not succeeded in convincing Lincoln that the national government should extend financial aid to the State; he had not been able to procure an adequate supply of arms; he had found his call for 42,000 men almost ignored because of open opposition from the United States forces; he had been successively ordered, upbraided, and ignored by a general who tried to assume civil authority himself; he had seen every military encounter end in Confederate victory; and in vain he had importuned good men to accept the meagerly paid State offices. Later, in 1861, however, the outlook was brighter. A new financial arrangement had been made with Washington, and Frémont had been removed. As it became increasingly evident that the provisional government would be able to maintain itself, men who had previously refused, accepted office and new recruits came into the militia. It was not an easy path that lay ahead, but at last Gamble could feel that his government rested on a solid foundation.

Shortly after his return from the first official trip to Washington, Gamble summoned the convention to meet in special session on the tenth of October, 1861.⁶⁴ His reasons for doing so were obvious. Actual war existed in half of the State. Following the Confederate victory at Wilson's Creek, Price had moved northward as far as Lexington. It was not so much Price's maneuvers as the psychological reaction of the people to those maneuvers that wrought the havoc. Union prestige was badly impaired, the people felt unprotected, and there were wild rumors of invasion by great southern armies.⁶⁵ In addition to the intermittent threat of invasion,

⁶³Anderson, Galusha, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, pp. 218-19.

⁶⁴*Missouri Republican*, September 23, 1861.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, October 11, 1861.

there were guerrilla bands which ravaged the country, making war on their personal enemies, and living by plunder.

At the time it had established the provisional government, the convention had made arrangements for submitting its action to a vote of the people on the first Monday in November, 1861. At that time, also, new State officers were to be elected.⁶⁶ By the time the convention met in October, it was apparent that if any election were held the following month the secessionists would certainly win, for they had control of southern and western Missouri. In some places, the broken-down condition of the local government made the holding of any election impossible. Under the circumstances, Gamble recommended that the election be postponed until a more suitable time. As that entailed his continuance in office longer than the convention had intended and longer than he had anticipated in accepting, he urged that the convention select a successor to serve in the interim.⁶⁷ "We need no better officers," declared the *Missouri Republican*,⁶⁸ and the convention agreed. The election was postponed until the first Monday in August, 1862.⁶⁹ However, certain changes were necessary if the State were to be prepared to hold an election even on that date. Consequently, a test oath was required, the first ever imposed in the State. The offices of all civil officials in the State who did not subscribe to the oath within sixty days were to be declared vacant.⁷⁰ By this measure, loyal local government was re-established and the hand of the provisional government immeasurably strengthened.

To improve the military situation in the State, the convention, at the request of the governor, enacted a new military law to replace the inadequate, cumbrous one then in effect and authorized the issuing of Union defense bonds to the amount of \$1,000,000⁷¹ to help finance the State troops. Gamble was delegated to go to Washington to borrow money

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1861.

⁶⁷ *Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, October, 1861, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Missouri Republican*, September 23, 1861.

⁶⁹ *Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, October, 1861, p. 5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

from the federal government on the bonds.⁷² The enactment of these bills, of course, relieved the governor from immediate embarrassment, but the measures were inadequate for the full support of a considerable force for any great length of time. If the troops were to be kept in the field long enough to become efficient, more permanent provisions had to be made.

In his interview with the president, Gamble pointed out that if the Missouri troops could be put on a sound financial basis, a considerable force could be raised and Union soldiers then in the State could be released for service elsewhere. Many who feared to leave their homes to the mercy of guerrillas would enlist if assured that they would not be called out of the State. Likewise, many who did not care to join the Union army to invade and subjugate the South would be willing, nevertheless, to take up arms against an invasion of Missouri. At Lincoln's request, Gamble drew up a draft which, with minor changes, became the basis for the extension of federal aid to the State.⁷³ At McClellan's suggestion, it was agreed that the governor should name as the major general of the State forces the major general of the war department, who had been appointed by the president. To this the governor assented without hesitation.⁷⁴ Gamble suggested in his draft that the money be paid out through regular United States paymasters rather than through State officers, but another system was adopted.⁷⁵ The funds were deposited to Governor Gamble's credit and paid out on his personal check.⁷⁶ Although vast sums passed through his hands, no charge of fraud was ever made against him even by his bitterest enemies.

Now that he had secured adequate backing for a State force, Gamble wished to disband the old Missouri State militia, which had been called out for six months, and to incorporate its members into the new force. He realized the endless and unnecessary confusion that would result if it were kept in existence at the same time that the new troops were

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷³*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Lincoln to Gamble, November 4, 1861.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Halleck, October 10, 1862.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, Draft of the agreement between Lincoln and Gamble.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, The canceled checks are among Governor Gamble's papers.

being raised. Then, too, the old militia had been very expensive because it had been organized under the old military law which allowed an undue proportion of officers. As regular pay and sufficient subsistence were guaranteed in the new organization, he felt confident the Missouri State militiamen would re-enlist. However, as they were already entitled to pay which they had not received, only a small number did re-enlist.⁷⁷

According to the agreement between Gamble and the president, Major General Halleck became the major general of the new State militia, but immediate command of the State was turned over to J. M. Schofield, who was the brigadier general of the volunteers. This choice was a most fortunate one, for he was one of the few able military men in Missouri during the war. His relations with the Governor were most cordial at all times. Schofield states in his autobiography:⁷⁸

It is due the memory of Governor Gamble to say that although partisan enemies often accused him of interfering with the operations of the militia in the interest of his supposed political views, there never was, while I was in command of the militia, the slightest foundation for such accusation. He never attempted to interfere in any manner with the legitimate exercise of the authority of the commanding general, but was, on the contrary, governed by the commander's views and opinions in the appointment and dismissal of officers and in other matters in which his own independent authority was unquestioned.

Halleck's efficient military control and the unusually rigorous weather gave Missouri comparative peace during the winter of 1861 and 1862. Early in the spring, before Price considered the weather moderate enough for the movement of troops, Curtis, who had taken the field under Halleck, started his march toward Springfield. Price began his retreat, a retreat that ended with his defeat at Pea Ridge.

That decisive Union victory assured Missourians that they need have no further fear of invaders and secessionists. Also, there was no further hope of re-establishing the old Jackson government. From then on, Missouri was firmly in the Union. Thus, the State had passed successfully through

⁷⁷*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention, June, 1862, p. 5.*

⁷⁸Schofield, John M., *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, p. 55.

two great crises. The Gamble government, the only hope of the Union forces, had endured the test, and had successfully warded off invasion and thereby preserved the sovereignty of the State.

In the spring of 1862, petitions poured into Gamble's office asking him to become a candidate in the coming election for State officers. Two men, James H. Birch and George W. Miller, announced their candidacy in January and March, but neither was as widely or favorably known as Gamble.⁷⁹ It was not until the fifteenth of May that Gamble consented to have his name placed on the ticket.⁸⁰

There was little doubt about the main issue. As early as March, the *Missouri Republican* stated that the August election would be fought over emancipation.⁸¹ It is interesting to note that the abolitionists did not begin preparation for their campaign until Gamble's candidacy was announced. Apparently, only then were they convinced that the election was actually going to be held and also that they had an opponent strong enough to challenge all their forces. Accordingly, they issued a call for a radical convention to be held at Jefferson City in June.⁸²

Five days before the radicals met, the State convention "stole their thunder" by postponing the election for State officers until 1864. The convention had first voted to proceed with the election as scheduled in 1862, but postponed it to the later date when, to their amazement, the members learned that Gamble looked upon their action as a censure of his administration.⁸³ Certainly, it was not their intention and one is at a loss to understand his attitude. It was a grave error in judgment on his part and, without doubt, his greatest blunder. Surely, it would have been wiser for him to insist that the election take place and that the emancipation question be settled as soon as possible. However, he acted in accordance with the principle which he had advocated in the

⁷⁹*Missouri Republican*, January 26, March 15, 1862.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, May 16, 1862.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, March 29, 1862.

⁸²*Ibid.*, May 21, 1862.

⁸³*Gamble Papers*: Letter from McClurg to Gamble and Willard P. Hall, June 12, 1862.

Dred Scott decision. He stated then that a vital issue which affected so many people should not be made a political issue, particularly in times of distress. He refused to see that whether leaders liked it or not, emancipation had already become a political issue, and one of such magnitude as to demand immediate settlement. The year 1862 was the psychological time for a test of strength; Gamble was stronger then in popular favor than at any time subsequently. The *Missouri Republican*, ordinarily a very accurate barometer of public opinion in the State, predicted that three-fourths of the Union men in Missouri were then opposed to any scheme of emancipation and that the abolitionists would be unable to poll more than 20,000 votes against Gamble.⁸⁴ Certainly, Gamble would not have received all the votes of the Union men in 1862, but the indications are that he would have won easily. The radicals had no leader to compare with him. George W. Miller, the other Union candidate, withdrew in Gamble's favor. Birch, who was suspected of courting secessionist favor, was in jail charged with treason before the date on which the election was to have been held. The fact that in the November election the emancipationists won the State is no proof that they would have done so in an August election with Gamble at the head of the opposition ticket, for their success in electing legislators in November was largely the result of the president's emancipation proclamation of September.⁸⁵ Had the governor thrown aside his "lawyer caution" and gambled for all and won, as he doubtless would have done, then how much more vigorous, how much more constructive his leadership would have been in the emancipation fight to follow. The endorsement of the people would have been the strongest of all weapons and would have disarmed his enemies and rendered them powerless. Duly elected, Gamble could possibly have inaugurated his moderate emancipation policy and kept the executive branch of the government in conservative hands until 1866. If strong leadership during that time had effected peace and established a workable plan of

⁸⁴*Missouri Republican*, June 10, 1862.

⁸⁵Nicolay, John G., and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, Vol. VI, p. 394.

emancipation, the radical element would probably never have captured the State, and Missouri would have been spared the needless reconstruction at their hands. It was that "tide in the affairs of men" which should have been, but was not "taken at the full."

Three other measures of importance resulted from the fourth session of the convention. A test oath was imposed upon voters, which excluded the disloyal voters from the polls.⁸⁶ This measure accounts, at least in part, for the fact that Missouri polled only 82,000 votes in 1862 as compared with the 170,000 votes in 1861. Although the election of executive officers was postponed until 1864, provision was made for electing members for a new legislature in November, 1862, and for abrogating entirely the ordinance providing that the people should vote on the action of the convention in establishing the provisional government.⁸⁷ Again, it was at Gamble's own insistence that this action was taken. There was certainly some truth in his contention that it was foolish to ask the people to decide between a provisional government and no government at all. Yet, the vote of approval by the people upon his government was the reinforcement he most needed and would have removed his government from the extralegal category. Missourians have always been a conservative group in whom respect for legality is strongly ingrained, and, though they have obeyed extralegal governments, they have always been inclined to view allegiance to them as less obligatory. Many of the difficulties Gamble met during his last months in office revert to the fact that, although the provisional government existed for three years, it was never approved by a vote of the people.

Early in April of 1862, General Price, who had gone south, issued an appeal to southern sympathizers in Missouri to follow him. From that time on, much of the fighting in the State was between Union forces and the bands of men trying to work their way south to join him. Also there were the guerrillas and the incursions of Kansans which, beginning shortly after the battle of Wilson's Creek, continued with

⁸⁶*Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1862, Appendix, p. 13.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 12.

vigor and violence all along the border during the rest of the war. Property was destroyed, stock driven off, and towns were sacked and burned by the invaders. The loyal and disloyal factions in the State were so intermingled as to facilitate the bandit raids and there were no adequate forces to deal with such an irregular mode of warfare. Gamble believed that if a militia were equipped and stationed as a guard throughout the State, the bushwhacker invasions could be checked.⁸⁸

These conditions led him to authorize General Schofield to issue Order No. 19 which required every able-bodied man in the State to enroll in the militia.⁸⁹ The force was raised, controlled, and paid by the State. Of the 50,000 men so enlisted, about 30,000 were armed.⁹⁰ Since Gamble and Schofield ordered all those who had aided or supported the South to be enrolled also, they were severely criticized. This action was taken, not with the intention of using those men, but rather for the purpose of keeping them under surveillance. They were to be registered, but not incorporated into the militia. There was no intention either on the part of Gamble or Schofield to arm them and make them a part of the fighting force. However, a few officers whose zeal exceeded their discrimination did exactly that.⁹¹ When Gamble and Schofield discovered the mistakes, the men were released from service. Schofield issued Order No. 24 declaring that all southern sympathizers would be permitted to remain at home as long as they attended quietly to legitimate business.⁹²

Gamble's intention had been to have these men available for service when trouble arose. That plan proved to be impracticable and, eventually, only the best trained men were used. They were selected according to fitness and loyalty and put under Schofield's command. At the suggestion of Lincoln, the entire work of keeping order north of the Missouri river

⁸⁸*Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., 1st Sess., 1862-63, pp. 15-17.

⁸⁹*Missouri Republican*, July 23, 1862.

⁹⁰*Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., Adj. Sess., 1863-64, pp. 6-8.

⁹¹*Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 7.

⁹²*Ibid.*; *Missouri Republican*, August 17, 1862.

was delegated to this enrolled militia, and Union soldiers in the State were released to reinforce Grant at Vicksburg.⁹³

Thus, there existed in Missouri in 1863 three distinct military groups: the old Missouri State militia, raised under an agreement between Lincoln and Gamble, used only in the State, but subsisted entirely by the national government; the national troops; and the new enrolled militia, subsisted by the national government and paid by the State.

One of the most troublesome questions of the Gamble administration was the status of the old Missouri State militia raised under the special agreement. The matter was brought sharply to focus when Gamble, acting as he believed with full authority, dismissed a colonel who had been proved incompetent by an examining board.⁹⁴ Halleck declared that in dismissing a colonel "in the service of the United States," Gamble was exceeding his power.⁹⁵ The governor agreed that if the man were in the "service of the United States," he had no authority over him. Unusual importance was attached to this question by officials at Washington who contended that it involved the right of the president to command the militia of other states.⁹⁶ Gamble could not agree that a public admission by the war department of his right to make appointments and removals in the Missouri force would carry with it the tacit admission that other governors had a similar power over the volunteer forces in their states. The Missouri militia was a special force, existing in one state only and raised under a special agreement between the national and State governments. A careful analysis of the agreement itself convinced Gamble that the troops were in actuality State troops. If they had been considered national troops from the first, then the document, as he pointed out, was "solemnly expressed nonsense."⁹⁷ Lincoln took the stand that strictly speaking, the force was neither State or national and that each

⁹³*Gamble Papers*: Telegram from Lincoln to Gamble, December 18, 27, 1861.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Halleck, October 10, 1861.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, Letter from Halleck to Gamble, September 27, 1862.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, Letter from Gibson to Gamble, September 30, 1861.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Halleck, October 10, 1862.

question should be settled separately as it arose.⁹⁸ This was not a satisfactory arrangement for Gamble, for it left him with no criterion by which to judge what he could and could not do.

The uncertainty regarding his power only increased his difficulties. The president seemed to feel that the governor wished to force him to declare that the status of the troops was such that he could arrogate powers to himself, but there is little evidence that such was the case. Although the president granted Gamble the right to make appointments in the militia, he denied him the right to remove his own appointees even after grave dereliction of duty had been proved. Every petty offense had to be settled at Washington. Even in the matter of disbanding the troops, approval as to the time, place, and method had to be secured before action could be taken. The president's authority in the matter very effectively tied Gamble's hands and made his position weaker.

Almost as persistent and troublesome as the question of the troop status was the one regarding assessments on southern sympathizers. The policy of assessments had been started by Frémont and continued by his successors. From the first, Governor Gamble had disapproved of it, because Union men might easily fall under some slight suspicion and be assessed. As Gamble had reason to know, in such disturbed times everyone's sympathy was subject to question and there existed no possible means of proving or classifying shades of opinion. Since that was true, it was almost impossible to make fair assessments. Injustice was inherent in the system. Halleck did what he could to prevent fraud by improving the method of assessing and collecting the funds. But under his successor, Curtis, the policy was prosecuted with more vigor and less discretion.⁹⁹ Both Lincoln and Gamble tried to persuade Curtis to abandon the policy of collection, but Curtis was obdurate and defended it on the ground of necessity.¹⁰⁰ The money thus collected was used for the support of the enrolled militia and their families. However, Gamble and Lincoln made arrangements for raising the money by some other

⁹⁸Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 385-86.

⁹⁹Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

¹⁰⁰Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 388.

method, thus clearing the way for the abandonment of the system.¹⁰¹ By executive order in January, 1863, Lincoln suspended all action for assessments in the State and the system fell into disuse.¹⁰²

The assessment question was one more issue to widen the breach in the Union ranks. By the time of the election in 1862, Missouri was definitely split into two factions: the "claybanks," led by Gamble and Blair, and the "charcoals," led by B. Gratz Brown. As the name would imply, the "charcoals" were the blackest of the black Republicans, that is, the party that favored immediate and unconditional emancipation. The "claybanks" had opposed the radical policy of emancipation advanced by Frémont, and, with his removal, they continued their opposition against the radicals who supported his ideas. Although there was a small element whose hybrid character caused them to be called "chocolates," their number was so small that they are seldom given political existence at all. The test oath had excluded all except the two main groups of Union men from the polls.

The bitterly fought contest in the fall of 1862 ended with victory for the emancipationists who gained control of the State legislature.¹⁰³ It was expected of course that this group would take immediate action on the emancipation question. The governor urged them to do so in order to abate the agitation which the campaign had engendered. Ignoring the mandate of the people and the request of the governor, they spent their time wrangling over the selection of senators and ended the session with one of the two senators still to be elected.

The bad feeling which had arisen between Union men during the campaign was made worse when General Curtis was placed in charge of the federal troops. Of all the bad generals with which Missouri was cursed during the war, Curtis was undoubtedly one of the worst. Gamble disliked and distrusted him and felt that he was conniving with the radicals to promote the establishment of a military

¹⁰¹*Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., 1st Sess., 1862-63, p. 15.

¹⁰²Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 390.

¹⁰³*Missouri Republican*, November 27, 1862.

government in Missouri. Curtis permitted and even encouraged his officers to meddle with the internal and social affairs of the State; he allowed his officers to slander the governor and the militia; he ignored rather than co-operated with the governor; and he was found guilty of notorious speculation and of meddling with State politics. Over the protest of Gamble and other Missouri leaders, he secured a new military arrangement whereby part of Missouri was joined with a Kansas district under the control of General Blunt. As the governor suspected, the old border hostilities flamed again and once more western Missouri was ravaged by war.¹⁰⁴ Petitions, pleas, evidence, testimonials, and personal intercessions on the part of Governor Gamble, John B. Henderson, Edward Bates, and Charles Gibson were necessary before Lincoln would consent to Curtis' removal.¹⁰⁵ Henderson, before leaving for Missouri, called at the White House and presented the facts quite plainly to the president. "He gave me his word to act and he will do so," he wrote to Gamble, and then added realistically, "I hope."¹⁰⁶ Finally, the change was made; Curtis was replaced by Schofield. Although the radical press clamored with vehemence against the change, responsible citizens agreed with Bates, who said, "It was the only course that could have saved Missouri from social war and utter anarchy."¹⁰⁷

The removal of Curtis had an unfortunate repercussion. Lincoln's letter of instruction to the new commander, though intended to be private, somehow appeared in the St. Louis papers. Its general tone was derogatory to the governor. Lincoln wrote that General Curtis was, "perhaps not from choice . . . the head of one faction, and Gamble that of the other . . . as I could not remove Governor Gamble I had to remove General Curtis."¹⁰⁸ Surely, even if Lincoln

¹⁰⁴*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 231; *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, edited by Howard K. Beale, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1930, Vol. IV, p. 292.

¹⁰⁵*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Schofield to Gamble, February 2, 1863; Letter from Gamble to Lincoln, May 2, 1863. *Diary of Edward Bates*, p. 292.

¹⁰⁶*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Henderson to Gamble, March 30, 1863.

¹⁰⁷*Diary of Edward Bates*, p. 294.

¹⁰⁸Schofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69, quoting the letter from Lincoln of May 27, 1863.

had no confidence in Gamble whatever, to voice it thus was a needless discourtesy that abased him before his own people. The delight of the radical faction was unbounded in seeing the governor thus publicly humiliated by the president.

Gamble smarted under the injustice of the whole matter. He had known for some time that a whispering campaign was being carried on against him in Washington. In fact, Bates had spoken plainly and boldly to the president and the secretary of war and had charged them of listening to imputations against Gamble, holding him as a "suspected person," and making him powerless to aid the general government by degrading and belittling him before his own people.¹⁰⁹ It was a surprise to Gamble that the president should resent his having opposed Curtis, for he had done so on the grounds of the corruption and misconduct which had been alleged and proved against the general. For the president to imply that of the two he would prefer to keep Curtis in office was, as the governor said, a "most wanton and unmerited insult."¹¹⁰ It was true that Gamble was the leader of the conservative element but equally untrue that, as the president implied, he had built up or purposely headed a faction. Certainly, a faction had grown up in opposition to him and his policies, but unless he were willing weakly to submit to and endorse all of their measures, there was no escape from being termed an opposition leader. Perhaps Schofield came nearest to a sane analysis of the situation when he commented that the nature of the quarrel was not fully understood in Washington. The president, he thought, labored under a misapprehension as to who his friends really were. "If the so-called 'claybank' faction are not altogether friendly to the president and the administration," he wrote, "I have not been able to discover it."¹¹¹

One need only to examine Gamble's reaction to the Delaware resolutions to discover how unmerited Lincoln's suspicions and accusations really were. Those resolutions drawn up and adopted by the Delaware legislature, con-

¹⁰⁹*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Barton Bates to Gamble, January 21, 1863.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Lincoln, July 13, 1863.

¹¹¹Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

demned the emancipation proclamation and censured President Lincoln for arbitrary acts which violated the bill of rights. They contained the suggestion that the border states unite in calling a national convention to end the war. Gamble's answer was a stinging rebuke not only to the Delaware legislature but also to his Missouri critics. "It is cause of the deepest regret," he wrote, "in the present condition of our nation, when the government is struggling to maintain its own being, that the authorities of any state should add to its embarrassment by the adoption of resolutions which are calculated to withdraw the attention of the people from the present rebellion."¹¹² In regard to the protests against Lincoln's violation of individual rights, he insisted that the matter be viewed in its proper perspective. "The stupendous violation of the Constitution engrosses my attention," he declared. "If we prevent the success of that we can attend to other violations afterwards."¹¹³ His answer demonstrates clearly how sincere he was in his support of the Union and the president. If he had favored slavery at heart, as was charged, he had an opportunity to agree with the border state legislature which disapproved of the efforts being made toward emancipation; if he had opposed the administration of Lincoln, as even the president himself seemed to believe, he had a splendid opportunity to voice that opposition by agreeing with the state of Delaware that the president's acts were unconstitutional. Actually, there were many unconstitutional usurpations of personal rights under Lincoln to which even men who lacked Gamble's training in constitutional law were not blind. The governor proved himself a diplomat in handling that point. He could not defend Lincoln's acts as constitutional, but he would not condemn him. Not one word did he utter in favor of the resolutions. When he might have given tacit approval, he chose to speak out. He wished his stand to be clear and he sent to the legislature a vigorously denunciatory message. His course of action speaks for the sincerity of his purpose.

¹¹²*Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., 1st Sess., 1862-63, Appendix, p. 250.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, p. 253.

The vile and fierce condemnations of the radical press he had consistently ignored, but he felt the rebuff from the president was the last straw. In a letter as stinging as that of the president, but not as well known, since Gamble did not give it to the press, he stated:¹¹⁴

Mr. President, I have disapproved of acts of your administration but I have carefully abstained from denouncing you or those concerned with you in conducting the government and this because there is nothing of a "factional spirit" in me and because I thought I might damage the cause of my country by weakening public confidence in you.

No explanation is needed of the fact that close upon the heels of this episode, Gamble handed his resignation to the Missouri State convention.¹¹⁵ The leaders of the convention, however, convinced that there was no one in the State who could so capably fill the unenviable position of governor, persuaded him to withdraw his resignation. At the time he addressed the convention and announced that he would yield to their wishes and retain his office, he allowed himself to indulge in vindictiveness—the only time in his whole career when he did so, either in writing or in his public addresses. It was not his nature to stoop to such, but the recent humiliation had cut deep. He stated to the convention:¹¹⁶

I . . . will again involve myself in the cares . . . of office; not to be, as the *sagacious* President of the United States regards me, the head of a faction, but . . . above all party influences, and careless of everything but the interests of the state.

An interesting parallel may be drawn between the attitudes taken by Lincoln and Gamble on the slavery issue at the outbreak of the war. Lincoln declared in his inaugural, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists." Gamble stated in his address to the people that as slavery was legal in the State, he would protect it and enforce the laws regarding it. Both men felt that such a provocative question should not be pushed to the front at a time

¹¹⁴*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Gamble to Lincoln, July 13, 1863.

¹¹⁵*Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 11.

¹¹⁶*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 368.

when conditions were already chaotic; both agreed that Union slaveholders would be alienated needlessly by agitation of the slave issue; and both were convinced that the troublesome problem should and probably would be settled on a basis of compensated emancipation.

During the course of the war, Gamble's ideas on slavery changed considerably. Although not a slaveowner himself, he had no natural antipathy against it, and it might be said that he underestimated the moral aspect of the question. In 1861, he had declared that nothing would make him an anti-slavery man, and indeed nothing ever did.¹¹⁷ However, that statement does not warrant the assumption that he was an anti-emancipationist. Even before the Civil war, he had contended that Missouri's interests would be promoted better under a system of free labor than under a slave system, and he had expected that slavery would in time die out in the State.¹¹⁸ His opposition to emancipation in 1861 was based on his belief that the question could be settled more justly when people were calm and were thinking more rationally; his advocacy of emancipation in 1863 was based on his conviction that conditions were such that it was both expedient and necessary to settle the question at that time and to remove it from politics.

When the Missouri convention met in June, 1862, the national government had declared in favor of gradual, compensated emancipation. However, nothing tangible had been done in the way of providing funds for the states proceeding in accordance with that principle.¹¹⁹ The convention voted down Breckinridge's gradual emancipation proposal but, at Gamble's suggestion, sent a favorable reply to the federal government commending the action Congress had taken. Gamble did not urge the convention to go into the emancipation problem, for a new State legislature was to be elected in November. Since the legislators would come with a fresh mandate from the people, and since the question more properly lay in the province of the legislature's power, it was

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, March, 1861, p. 242.

¹¹⁸*Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., 1st Sess., 1862-63, pp. 21-22.

¹¹⁹Randall, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

his suggestion that that body was the proper one to deal with it.¹²⁰

As has been stated, the 1862 election put the legislature into the hands of the emancipationists, and Missouri looked to see the immediate adoption of some scheme for liberating the slaves. The governor's message which dealt almost exclusively with that problem was forceful and clear. Since the Missouri constitution provided that the legislature might free slaves only by consent of the owners or by giving full compensation, Gamble suggested that the New Jersey and Pennsylvania plans be studied. Both of those states had freed the children of slaves. Missouri, he thought, could do likewise and thus avoid a great outlay of money. In addition to the fact that such a plan of gradual emancipation would allow time for both negro and white to make necessary adjustments, he pointed out other advantages:¹²¹

This plan, while it leaves the present generation of slaves with their condition unchanged, prevents any sudden diminution of labor, attracts emigration by the assurance it gives that slavery is to be extinguished, conforms to the examples of other states in which the same change has been successfully made, is in accordance with the views of those exercising the powers of the Federal Government, and thus secures the aid of that Government, satisfies the requirements of our own Constitution and does justice to the owners of this description of property, while it provides that those who are to enjoy freedom under it shall be prepared for that condition before they exercise its privileges. This plan I recommend to your consideration.

The legislature ignored both the counsel of the governor and its own mandate from the people, neglected the emancipation issue, and spent the entire time in petty disagreement. It was a splendid opportunity for the legislature; it was a failure commensurate with that opportunity that attended its work.

The people had clearly voiced a demand for emancipation. As the legislature had refused to provide for it, Gamble decided to call another session of the convention. Violent and prolonged was the storm of protest raised by the radicals.

¹²⁰ *Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1862, p. 37.

¹²¹ *Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., 1st Sess., 1862-63, p. 24.

They declared that he was asking the convention to do what he had said earlier they ought not to do.¹²² True, he had stated to the convention in 1862 that the legislature was the proper group to deal with the matter. It should be noted, however, that he did not deny that the convention possessed the legal power to act. Throughout his term in office, he held that a convention called by the people had all the power of the people themselves and that their actions had the force of law.¹²³ If the legislature would act, he favored letting them do so. In view of the legislature's refusal to take action, he believed the convention could and should dispose of the matter. Gamble delayed summoning it for a while in order to see what action would be taken by the federal government regarding compensation. Two Missourians, Henderson and Noell, were pushing bills to appropriate money to finance emancipation measures. Due largely to the shortsightedness of Missouri's own congressmen, however, the measures were not adopted.¹²⁴ Their defeat accounts for Gamble's action, for he knew that the legislature of Missouri would be faced with exactly the same dilemma at its next meeting; it had no power to free slaves without compensation, and the State was not financially able to free them with compensation. A new convention could not be called to deal with the matter, for the legislature had refused to authorize such a step. Therefore, if Missouri were to take any action on emancipation, it would have to be taken by the old convention. The radical press charged that, by placing the matter before that body, Gamble hoped to secure an emancipation measure which would be so weak that it would defeat the emancipation principle.¹²⁵ The charge was utterly unfounded, for in the convention he worked consistently for a more liberal plan than that which was finally adopted, and his support was more often given to Drake, the radical, than to Birch, the conservative. Equally untrue was the charge that he called the old convention into session to keep from calling a new convention. It was he, not a radical, who suggested that a new con-

¹²²*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 34.

¹²³*Ibid.*, July, 1861, p. 75.

¹²⁴Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 393.

¹²⁵*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 35.

vention be called rather than that a technical six-part ordinance be submitted to a vote, an action which he knew was sure to defeat any emancipation plan regardless of its merits.¹²⁶

It was indeed unfortunate that the vigorous leadership which Gamble displayed in the first session of the convention was lacking in the last one. He was a member of the committee on emancipation, but his attendance was irregular because of the press of official duties which kept him commuting between St. Louis and Jefferson City, his rapidly failing health, and his anxiety for his wife who was fast losing her eyesight. The report of the committee did not embody his ideas on the subject and, as he predicted, really suited no one.

His suggestions regarding emancipation were placed before the convention in the form of an amendment to the committee report. He proposed that slavery should cease in 1866 but that from that time until 1874, the slave should be under the care of his master whose duty it would be to see that he was prepared for his freedom. Those slaves who were over forty years of age were to be free but were to remain with their masters for the rest of their lives.¹²⁷ As he saw it, the master, after having enjoyed the benefits of their labor during their working years, should assume the responsibility of caring for them in their old age. He saw what many chose to ignore, that striking off the chains of servitude was very much like changing the label on a can—one did not thereby change its contents. No lawmaking body could by enactment remove the shackles of ignorance, superstition, or dependence bred by a life of servility. "We must have no such Utopian notion as that. Act upon the subject as you know it to be," he urged. It was no kindness to the negro, he felt, to free him, to throw him suddenly upon his own resources, and make no attempt to help him adjust himself to new circumstances which at best he would find difficult. "Your own children are not treated so," said he, "and the Negro still more needs the advantage of direction and guidance."¹²⁸ His plan,

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 344.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*

he felt, would help Missouri to make the transition from one labor system to another as easily as possible.

Gamble took a decided and logical stand on the question of submitting the action of the convention to the people. "To submit the question, whether an ordinance of five or six sections shall become a Constitutional law of the state (I do not care how wise or politic its provisions may be) would be sure defeat."¹²⁹ It would be voted down, he contended, by people who opposed one part or another. He proposed that three schemes of emancipation be submitted, and that the people first vote "yes" or "no" on the question of freeing the slaves, and then on the three methods of emancipation, with the understanding that the method which received the largest vote should be enforced. Leaders representing every possible opinion should be invited to lay their views before the committee, and the three plans should be carefully drawn so as to embody those differences. In the light of subsequent emancipation history in Missouri, one can realize how wise his suggestions really were. What personal and party animosities Missouri could have been spared had they been adopted! Unfortunately, his official duties forced him to leave Drake and Marvin to sponsor his plans. Under his leadership, his plan could have been adopted, but under the leadership of Marvin and Drake, nothing was accomplished.

The emancipation plan finally adopted was a weak compromise measure which pleased no one. No slaves were to be freed until 1870. Those over forty years of age were to remain slaves for life, and those under twelve were not to be freed until they were twenty-three. In the meantime, slave-trade was to be restricted in no way, and after 1870, it was still to be allowed between residents of the State.¹³⁰ The lack of compensation to the owners was the only feature of the ordinance which received Gamble's commendation.¹³¹ His attitude toward the convention's work may best be summed up in his own words:¹³²

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

¹³² *Senate Journal*, 22nd G. A., Adj. Sess., 1863-64, p. 10.

. . . . This ordinance is not in all its different provisions such as I myself approved yet as the subject is one which has always produced a diversity of opinion in regard to details among those who are the most earnest friends of emancipation, the ordinance was accepted as the best measure that could be agreed upon. It cannot be expected of me that I shall enter into a vindication of the ordinance in all its details as I voted against some of its provisions.

In spite of its weakness, Gamble believed that the adoption of this measure would close the matter, for those interested in slave property would not seek to disturb it and no one else would have any interest in doing so. He commented that further agitation of the question, "while it may promote the organization of political parties, and keep up a contest for office, will contribute neither to the peace or the prosperity of the state." That statement explained why he was willing to let the question rest, and why the radicals were not.

Gamble ignored the wordy invective of the radical press, but he could not afford to ignore the course of action which the radical party tried to urge upon the State. In the hope of influencing the legislature to change the emancipation law, that party called a convention to meet at Jefferson City in September of 1863.¹²³ In carefully framed resolutions, the delegates demanded the resignation of Gamble, the replacement of Schofield by some "suitable man," such as General Butler, and the establishment by the radicals of a committee of public safety. They proposed that the committee confer with Union men "to organize and arm them for the protection of their homes, and in event of no relief being obtained from our present trouble to call upon the people of this state to act in their sovereign capacity, and take such measures of redress as shall be found necessary for their welfare."¹²⁴ Gamble became genuinely alarmed at this thinly veiled threat of revolution. He was persuaded that the radicals, having failed in their efforts to control the provisional government, were determined to overthrow it.

The threat to replace the provisional government by force had been a persistent one. As early as 1861, there had been

¹²³*Missouri Republican*, August 17, 1863.

¹²⁴Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 213.

talk of placing Frémont in control, and in 1862, some radicals had openly advocated a plan to establish a military government.¹⁸⁵ When it became apparent in 1862 that the convention would deter the State election, the St. Louis *Anzeiger* openly proposed that if such a procedure were even suggested, the provost marshal or a military governor should put an end to the convention.¹⁸⁶ In August of that year, Charles Gibson wrote from St. Louis to warn the governor that serious efforts were being made to have the president replace him. The plan was that both Gamble and Schofield should be seized and imprisoned. Word of it came to Schofield through Blair, who, while refusing to reveal the names of the conspirators, did attest to the fact that there was such a plot.¹⁸⁷ Gamble had known for some time of the delegations sent to Washington for the purpose of undermining Lincoln's faith in the provisional governor. When young Hamilton Gamble visited Washington in March of 1863, he was alarmed to discover how widespread and serious such plots really were. He wrote to his father, "I had no idea of the number of persons who have been plotting against you till I came here. Your loyalty has not only been doubted but actually denied by committees and by petitions for your removal."¹⁸⁸

In view of the action taken by the radicals in their convention, Gamble determined to meet threat with threat. In a letter to Lincoln, he suggested that a presidential order be sent to the general in charge of Missouri to uphold the provisional government.¹⁸⁹ Its publication would discourage revolutionary schemes by recognizing them as such.

After waiting twelve days without receiving a reply from the president, Gamble determined to accomplish what he could through a statement of his own. The proclamation which he issued was not a plea to the people to perpetuate the provisional government without demanding the necessary

¹⁸⁵Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁸⁶*Missouri Republican*, June 9, 1862.

¹⁸⁷Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 86; *Gamble Papers*: Letter from Gibson to Gamble, August 14, 1862.

¹⁸⁸*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Hamilton Gamble to his father, March 6, 1863.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, Letter from Gamble to Lincoln, October 1, 1863.

changes, but an earnest entreaty to them to discountenance all revolutionary means of effecting a change.¹⁴⁰ "It was a document," state Nicolay and Hay, "so clear in its statements and so quiet and firm in its tone as to appeal to the good sense and moderation of all except those intent upon mischief."¹⁴¹

A week after he had issued the proclamation, Gamble received what he considered an unsatisfactory reply from the president. "I have delayed so long to answer . . . because it did not appear to me that the domestic violence you apprehend was very imminent," Lincoln wrote.¹⁴² Certainly, Gamble was no alarmist. Neither was Schofield, who had reinforced the governor's demands to the president and who had insisted that the matter actually was serious. Yet, in spite of the fact that both men were on the field and knew the actual conditions, the president ignored the significance of their reports. He questioned the governor's statement that the radicals were threatening an overthrow of the government. "Does the party so proclaim," he asked, "or is it only that some members of the party so proclaim?" Declaring, "No party can be held responsible for what individual members of it may do or say," the president dismissed the matter.¹⁴³ Gamble realized exactly the difference between threats made by a party and those made by individual members of a party. He had not run to the president with the persistent rumors of individuals who plotted against his government. It was not until the radical party in convention, speaking through its elected delegates, declared its intention to overthrow the provisional government that he asked for the protection of the federal government, protection which he had every right to expect but which he did not receive. He was left to take what comfort he could from Lincoln's order to Schofield to do his duty in regard to any "organized military force" which should appear in Missouri in opposition to the "General Government."¹⁴⁴ Lincoln's disposition to distrust Gamble, to give the benefit of the doubt to

¹⁴⁰*Missouri Republican*, October 13, 1863.

¹⁴¹Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

¹⁴²*Gamble Papers*: Letter from Lincoln to Gamble, October 19, 1863.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 225.

the men who opposed him, and to deny him the moral backing of the general government made the governor's position unnecessarily trying and unenviable.

In the face of such treatment, Gamble steadily refrained from criticizing the president; he did everything possible to uphold Lincoln and to reinforce and strengthen the Union. He reminded the president on one occasion that he had never denounced him or his administration because he felt it might damage the Union cause for him to do so. The president's rebuke cut deep but it did not alter Gamble's course of action. He bore it in the same spirit as he did the insults hurled at him through the radical press. He said of them, "In patient silence I have borne the assaults in the past . . . and if it is my duty to the state to continue to expose myself to the detractions of bad men, I must encounter their attacks in the path duty points out. They shall never move me from that path."¹⁴⁵

The strenuous months in office had left their mark on Gamble's health. He was never a man of vigorous constitution, and in his fifties he had resigned his position on the supreme court because of ill-health. In his middle sixties, under the double strain of bitter personal abuse and oppressive official responsibilities, he failed rapidly. A fall on the icy steps of the executive mansion in December confined him to his bed, but even his own family did not realize until the very last that he was seriously ill. News of his death on January 31, 1864, came almost as a surprise to the State.¹⁴⁶ However, when his condition was realized at the last, word of his serious illness spread rapidly in the city of St. Louis, and crowds gathered and waited anxiously for news of his condition. A few hours before his death, he rallied slightly and recognized a friend, Carlos Greeley. After a few minutes he said in his usual, slow, deliberate fashion, "I shall try to do what is right and proper to do, and shall prevent anything from being done which is wrong to do."¹⁴⁷ His last words reveal his high principles and justify all his actions.

¹⁴⁵*Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 368.

¹⁴⁶*Missouri Republican*, January 31, 1864.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, February 4, 1864.

From every side, tributes were given. In Washington, Edward Bates, aged and very much alone after the death of Missouri's other great conservative, in a vein of sadness recorded in his diary, "To me, this loss is a sore grievance—far greater than I had supposed—we had been friends forty years The services he had done the state, in patiently and successfully resisting the revolutionary violence of headlong Jacobins, are now seen and appreciated; and the purity of his personal character now shines all the brighter, because of the clouds of wicked calumny with which his and the state's enemies have so long labored to obscure him."¹⁴⁸ Even his most bitter foe, the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, reserving its vitrol for other and newer victims, declared, "His private character and personal reputation are unblemished."¹⁴⁹

"A good man is dead."¹⁵⁰ With those words the *Missouri Republican* had announced to Missourians the death of their governor. But more than a good man had died. Unseen, unrecognized even by the most thoughtful, an era had passed too; for, when Hamilton Gamble went to his grave, the conservative cause went with him. To the casual onlooker, conservatism still existed, but like a stone wall from which unseen the mortar has crumbled away, it was strong in appearance only. There was no one to take his place. It is futile to conjecture what would have happened had he lived, had he rallied the conservatives fresh from the advantages they had just gained in electing their candidates to the supreme court. The fact remains that upon his death the radicals swept into power. Could he have saved Missouri from the needless reconstruction at their hands? Could he have led the State to support the archly conservative emancipation plan? If not, could he have secured the passage and support of a plan of his own, one which was more nearly in accord with his own thinking and which might have prevented the emergence of strong race hatreds? It is impossible to say. In three years, Gamble had swung Missouri away from its natural inclination to stand with the other slave states; in six years, the radicals

¹⁴⁸*Diary of Edward Bates*, pp. 328-29.

¹⁴⁹*Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), February 1, 1864.

¹⁵⁰*Missouri Republican*, January 31, 1864.

swung it back and made it in peace what it had not been in war, an integral part of the "solid south."

Gamble had returned to Missouri at a time when the Union cause needed him. He was an advocate of peace when hotheads cried for war, of reason when the unthinking were swayed by emotion, of sanity when zealots followed the mob mind, of justice when the intolerant favored persecution, of restraint when the rebellious chose excess, and of enduring principles when the opportunist advocated violence. He worked tirelessly to get Missouri in the Union and when she was definitely in it, he insisted that she be treated on a par with the other states, not as a conquered province. Misunderstood, abused, slandered in his own day, he let the rectitude of his conduct counteract any injustice done to him, confident that the dispassionate judgment of time would bring him what measure of acclaim he deserved. Missourians, who have kept alive the memory of Lyon or of Porter, have not measured justly how far the quiet constructive work of this statesman transcends the colorful yet destructive work of those generals. To keep Missouri loyal, prevent anarchy, rebuild the civil government, ward off military control, repel invasion, reconstruct State finances, and pacify the people were only a few of the herculean tasks to which Gamble set his hand. In no one did he fail entirely.

MISSOURIANA

Rural Free Delivery Service in Missouri
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RURAL FREE DELIVERY SERVICE IN MISSOURI¹

BY PHIL M. DONNELLY

The division of rural free delivery, by no means the oldest branch of the United States postal service, is nevertheless one of the largest and most useful. Its inauguration and progress mark one of the most significant steps in the development of the postal system of the United States.

A general postal system was inaugurated when this country was still a colonial possession of England. When the Continental Congress of the revolting colonies in 1775 established the "Continental Post," they placed at its head that universal genius, Ben Franklin, whose contribution to the development of the postal system is usually overlooked, doubtless because of his contributions in other fields.

After the Revolutionary war, the problems of the new government were pressing and the postal system established under the Confederation had to suffice until 1794, when a revision of the postal laws was made which provided for expansion of the service. Besides the main post roads, many "cross posts" were established and the service began to be extended. The statesmen and leaders of the rapidly expanding West early recognized the importance of increased postal facilities and after 1794 the West began to receive attention. The postal service in the Kentucky area, first established over the Wilderness Road to Danville in 1792, developed rapidly, and Tennessee got its first post service in 1794, with a post route established from Abingdon to Knoxville. By 1799 or

¹An address delivered at the thirty-eighth annual convention of the Missouri Letter Carriers' association held in Lebanon on July 11, 12, and 13, 1940.

1800, a weekly mail traversed the route from Louisville, Kentucky, to Vincennes, Indiana, and every two weeks the mail was taken from Vincennes to Cahokia, opposite St. Louis.

Shortly after the United States acquired the Louisiana Purchase region in 1803, the government extended its mail service into what is now Missouri. The first post offices in Missouri, then the District of Louisiana, were established at St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Charles, but strange as it may seem, the exact dates of the establishment of these offices are not known. It is known that by January, 1805, Rufus Easton had been appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Jefferson and that sometime later he opened his office in a "small room in a stone building on the southwest corner of Third and Elm streets."

Easton served as postmaster until late in 1814, when he became the delegate to Congress from Missouri territory. At that time, there were only eight post offices in the territory and only 219 miles of post roads. The population of the territory was beginning to grow by leaps and bounds, however, and from the focus of the older communities along the eastern border of the territory, settlement was rapidly spreading out in three main directions—north of the Missouri into the Salt river region, southwestward toward the Ozark highlands south of the Missouri, and westward into the "Boone's Lick country" in central Missouri.

As early as 1810, a post road had been established from Ste. Genevieve by Mine à Breton and St. Louis to St. Charles. Another ran from Kaskaskia by way of Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau to New Madrid. Later post routes were established from Ste. Genevieve through Potosi to the county seat of Franklin county and from Potosi to Bellevue and Murphy's Settlement, which was the site of present-day Farmington.

By 1819, Missouri could boast at least fifteen mail routes over which mails were delivered once a week or once every two weeks. A list of post routes established in Missouri in 1819 was published in the *Missouri Gazette* for May 5 of that year. Among the routes mentioned in this list, two ran

north into the Salt river region: one from St. Charles to Louisiana by way of Clark's and Stout's forts near the present towns of Troy and Auburn in Lincoln county, through Monroe, now Old Monroe, and Clarksville, and another from St. Louis by way of Bellefontaine and Portage des Sioux to Monroe in Lincoln county.

On May 13, 1820, President James Monroe signed a bill creating one of the most extensive of the early post routes in Missouri. This route, which had its beginning in St. Charles, extended west through Marthasville in what is now Warren county to the Montgomery courthouse, county seat of Montgomery county, through Cote sans Dessein in present Callaway county, through Nashville and Smithton in what is now Boone county, to Franklin in Howard county, and on to the town of Chariton. From Chariton the road continued west through Bluffton in what is now Ray county and thence to Fort Osage, the government trading post and factory situated near the present site of Sibley in Jackson county.

From the time of Easton's election to Congress in 1814, Missouri's delegates, and later her representatives, urged the establishment of additional post roads and post offices. Before widespread establishment of such routes, however, settlers in the interior were mainly dependent on travelers and explorers for the transport of mail. Letters in this period often had no more definite address than "somewhere in the Boone's Lick country," and it is said that travelers entrusted with letters not infrequently read them before delivering them to the addressees—the doctrine of the inviolability of the mails presumably not yet having reached the frontier.

Notwithstanding the delays caused by bad weather, impassable roads, and irresponsible frontiersmen who frequently served as post riders and stage drivers, the postal authorities made a valiant effort to improve and extend the service. After 1816, a mail from the East was due in St. Louis each week, but in actual fact the service there, as elsewhere, was often maddeningly irregular. Despite efforts of the postal authorities, mail often accumulated at key points and the newspapers of the time bear witness to the

delays and uncertainties of the service. On August 14, 1813, a news item in the *Missouri Gazette* said: "No News! We are again tantalized with a defalcation in the mail department; the weather is too warm for these tender gentry to travel and the postmasters are too good-natured to tell tales at Washington." The *Gazette* of February 16, 1820, bore the following announcement: "It is reported that Mr. Lindsley, agent for the general Post Office Department, has to-day started four or five bushels of mail for St. Louis by special contract."

During the thirties and forties, the rapidly expanding settlements demanded increased mail facilities and numerous post roads were laid out in Missouri. In 1850, George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia, had a contract with the United States government for operating passenger and mail coaches over 483 miles of Missouri stage lines.

The first mail stagecoach between Independence and Santa Fe began its first trip to the far Southwest on July 1, 1850, over the route of the famous Santa Fe trail—first marked out by Pedro Vial in 1792 and 1793 and by William Becknell in 1821 and 1822. This mail stage was operated by Waldo, Hall, and Company under contract with the United States government, the runs being made once a month until 1857, when a semimonthly stage was established. The year 1858 brought a weekly service, 1866 a triweekly mail, and in 1868 daily service was begun.

The establishment of the Butterfield Overland mail in 1858 was the culmination of more than a decade of struggle toward regular overland communication with the Pacific coast. Both Missouri and California were vitally concerned with some means of transportation other than the slow ocean route. But the bitter fight between the North and South over the proposed route delayed its establishment and it was not until September 16, 1858, that St. Louisans saw the departure of the first Pacific coast mail.

The demand for rapid communication between the East and West led to the development of the Pony Express and on April 3, 1860, the first westbound rider left St. Joseph, Missouri, for Sacramento, California. Although this venture was

short-lived, it is one of the most outstanding of all the early attempts at rapid transportation of mails across the United States and, indeed, in speed and efficiency was unique among all systems devised before the introduction of railroads.

It is to be borne in mind that from the time of the inauguration of the "Continental Post" in 1775, and even earlier, the system involved the carrying of mails by post rider and stagecoach into city, town, and village. In a sense, then, these early post riders and stagemen were our first rural letter carriers. But 121 years were to elapse before rural free delivery of mail, as we know it today, was an accomplished fact.

Systems of rural free delivery had long been in operation in England and in a number of western European countries before the United States inaugurated its first rural delivery system in 1896. Proposals for such a service had been made in the early nineties, but oddly enough, according to one historical account, the proposals had "encountered many obstacles, some of them in official quarters, and some from the people themselves." This account says further that

. . . . In 1893 the house committee on postoffices and post roads condemned it, as a scheme impossible of execution, which "would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000 to inaugurate it," and the same year the Postmaster General declared in his report that "the department would not be warranted in burdening the people with such a great expense for such an object." In 1894 Congress made a small appropriation of \$10,000 to test the scheme, but the Postmaster General had so little faith in it that he declined to expend the money, and stated that "the proposed plan of rural free delivery, if adopted, would result in an additional cost to the people of about \$20,000,000 for the first year," and he did not think the enterprise justified such an expenditure. When in the year 1895, Congress increased the appropriation for a test to \$20,000, the Postmaster General declared that free rural delivery was altogether impracticable. Nevertheless, he added, if Congress should see fit to make the appropriation available for the year 1896 he would give the enterprise a fair trial. Congress did make the appropriation available, and doubled it to \$40,000—the first experiment with forty-four routes was made²

The experimental routes established in 1896 represented the first attempt to carry the post office to the rural areas of

²Conard, Howard L., (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, Vol. V, pp. 413-14.

the nation. It involved the task of reaching twenty-one million people scattered over one million square miles. These first experimental routes in twenty-nine states were set up under the supervision of the division of post-office inspection and mail depredations.

Rural free delivery service was introduced into Missouri on October 15, 1896, when three of these experimental routes were started at Cairo in Randolph county. The routes were each eighteen miles long and served about one thousand persons. The carriers received an annual salary of \$300. The operation of these routes was not very successful at first; the inspector in charge of establishing and operating them reported that he labored under serious disadvantages. General instructions were disregarded, and the patrons, slow to appreciate the service, did not realize that it was unnecessary to wait until it was convenient to visit a post office to post their letters. The Cairo routes were reorganized in June, 1898, and consolidated into two routes. The territory with impassable roads was struck out and new territory added where the roads were good.

During the period from the inauguration of the Cairo routes until July 1, 1897, the carriers handled 22,873 pieces of mail. This amount was increased to 43,933 pieces during the year ending June 30, 1898, and in 1899, Cairo carriers handled 50,923 pieces.

It is of course a matter of speculation just why Cairo, a small village of 200 inhabitants, was one of the forty-four communities selected as centers for experimental routes. It is probable that Cairo received this distinction through the efforts of Uriel S. Hall of Randolph county, who was then a congressman from the second Missouri district and a member of the house committee on post office and post roads. No doubt, the attention given many of the northern Missouri communities in the establishment of early rural routes could also be traced to the activity of this Missouri congressman.

Rural free delivery was extended to six other Missouri communities during the year ending on June 30, 1899. These communities were Chillicothe, Higginsville, Lee's Summit, Lexington, Maryville, and Nelson. The number of carriers was

3 1896

6

1899

increased to nine and the length of routes covered to 183½ miles. During the year ending June 30, 1900, the service was extended to eleven other towns, including Callao, Cameron, Carthage, Hamilton, Hughesville, Kingston, La Belle, Liberty, Platte City, Rock Port, and Spickard. At that time, there were thirty-one carriers in Missouri who traveled over routes totaling 666 miles. By June 30, 1901, forty-seven more communities, served by sixty-two rural carriers, had been added to the Missouri list. Of these, thirty-five were north of the Missouri river and twelve south.

Not only in Missouri but throughout the country, this tentative experiment succeeded far beyond the expectations of either the officials or the general public, and a popular clamor for an extension of the service resulted. By 1900, it had become apparent that rural free delivery was both a permanent and expanding feature of the United States postal service. That year, the postmaster general reported that "The extraordinary extension of rural free delivery during the past two years has proven to be the most salient, significant, and far-reaching feature of postal development in recent times"

According to his report, there were 391 rural delivery routes in operation in the United States by July 1, 1899. Before the end of the fiscal year, the number had grown to 1,214, and by November 15, 1900, the number of routes had increased to 2,614. The aggregate length of these routes was 61,979 miles, "covering 66,842 square miles, divided among forty-four states and territories, and serving a population of 1,801,524. . . ."

By 1925, the number of rural routes had increased to 45,189 covering 1,227,654 miles. In October of that year, largely because of the extensive development of motor transportation and the improvement of roads, the department started a policy of consolidating routes. By 1930, the number of routes had been reduced to 43,278, but the mileage covered had increased to 1,334,842.

Since that time, the continued program of road expansion and the development of systems like Missouri's farm-to-market roads have brought about a steady decrease in the

number of rural routes, but a corresponding increase in total mileage. On June 30, 1939, there were 32,839 rural routes with a total length of 1,392,657 miles. These routes were served by 32,761 rural letter carriers.

In Missouri, the extension of the service followed the same pattern as in the nation. By 1925, there were in operation 2,257 routes, covering 56,440 miles. Five years later, in 1930, the number of routes had decreased to 2,167, but the mileage had increased to 60,247. On June 30, 1939, there were 1,564 routes in the State with a total length of 61,124 miles.

The introduction of the rural free delivery system only partially satisfied the rural patrons. Soon they were demanding the privilege of sending small packages of produce through the mails. The creation of a third class for miscellaneous mail matter had, in effect, established a limited parcel post system in 1863. Seventeen years later, an international parcel post system, in which the United States participated, stimulated the demand for a general domestic system. No provision, however, was made at that time to create such a system. After the rural free delivery system was established, a series of proposals for a parcel post system was presented. Finally, by act of Congress on August 24, 1912, the system as we know it today was established.

In summarizing the arguments for and against the parcel post system, Postmaster General John Wanamaker, an early advocate, stated that there were one hundred good reasons for establishing the system and only "four strong objections." The four strong objections were the four leading express companies. Another reason for the tardiness in adopting a parcel post system in this country was the belief by many that such a system was doomed to failure because of the geographical area to be covered and the scattered population.

The parcel post system, adopted for this country, borrows its principle from the French who established a similar system as early as 1643; its mechanism is derived from the Germans, who developed the zoning system, based on the service rendered, which governs our parcel post rates.

It is a significant fact that the development of rural free delivery service was coincident with the development of automobiles. Indeed, it may even be said that the good roads movement got its first impetus from the development of the rural free delivery service through the requirement of the post-office department that new routes should be established only on roads passable at all seasons of the year. After the introduction of the parcel post system in 1912, rural free delivery naturally entered upon a period of expansion which further coincided with the growing popularity of the automobile. And, during the two decades following, the nation's first highway system became a reality.

The perspective afforded by forty-four years of service amply warrants the conclusion that rural free delivery has more than justified the expectations and claims of its early advocates. Neither inaugurated nor maintained as a producer of revenue, it has nevertheless increased the postal receipts. As a factor in making possible an increased circulation of newspapers and periodical literature, it has been of great educational value to the rural population of the nation. As a business force, it has given the farmer a closer daily contact with his market. It provided the initial impetus for the movement for good roads. In short, throughout the approximate half-century of its existence, it has been something more than a mere government agency. It has been an active social force.

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

A History of Missouri From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union. By Louis Houck. 3 Vols. (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley & Sons company, 1908. 1202 pp.)

Elmwood, the home of Louis Houck and the birthplace of his wife, stands on a hill about five miles southwest of Cape Girardeau, Missouri. His widow, the former Mary Hunter Giboney, a daughter of one of Cape Girardeau's most prominent families, still lives there. The windows of the large library in this old home look out upon slave cabins and a kitchen built before the Civil war. Houck collected in this library a wide variety of volumes, among which were *De Bow's Review*,

Bossu's *Travels*, Godey's *Lady's Book*, a wide variety of books on history, and an immense collection of historical documents relating to Missouri. A further indication of his varied interests was his bound scrapbook entitled "Americana," in which he filed and classified periodicals, reports of speeches and scientific investigations, conference programs, historical journals, and other materials, all with dates ranging from 1872 to 1920. In this library, seated in a chair that "creaked with age," and working at a desk made of solid walnut, Houck wrote his *History of Missouri* as a diversion from his many other activities as a farmer, educational promoter, and railroad builder. Who was this man who wrote history for relaxation?

Louis Houck was born near Belleville, Illinois, on April 1, 1841. His father and mother were natives of Bavaria and Switzerland, respectively. Louis' father, Bartholomew Houck, came to the United States in 1829 and in 1849 became the editor of the *Belleviller Zeitung*. Young Louis spent some of his time in school in Belleville and Herman, Illinois, but far more of it in his father's printing shop. At the age of seventeen, he and another youth established a newspaper at Alton, Illinois, but after a few months young Houck sold out to his partner and entered the University of Wisconsin where he concentrated upon the study of English and the classics for a little over a year. In 1859, he returned to Alton and started a Democratic newspaper which he published until 1866. In the meantime, he studied law for a few months in the office of Judge William H. Underwood and was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1862. His first publication, *A Treatise on the Mechanics' Lien Law in the United States*, appeared in 1867. After selling his Alton newspaper, he went to Cairo, Illinois, and began practicing law in partnership with H. K. S. O'Melveny. While in Cairo, he was engaged to represent that city in a lawsuit involving the navigation of the Ohio river. As a result of this experience, he published his *Treatise on the Law of Navigable Rivers* in 1868. In the same year, he dissolved his connections with O'Melveny and, after spending a year in St. Louis as assistant United States district attorney, moved to Cape Girardeau where he spent the rest of his life. While

building a profitable law practice between 1869 and 1880, he re-edited and annotated the first fifteen volumes of the *Missouri Reports*.

When Houck moved to Cape Girardeau, there were countless acres of land in southeast Missouri which had no commercial outlet except by way of the Mississippi river. Realizing this, he became interested in railroads. At the conclusion of a trial in Charleston in 1880, he announced publicly that he had decided to retire from active law practice to devote his major efforts to the construction of railroads in southeast Missouri. His first venture in railroad construction was on the line from Delta in Stoddard county to Cape Girardeau. During the seventies, the town and township of Cape Girardeau had become bonded for \$300,000 to build a road from Cape Girardeau to the Arkansas line, but the project had failed. With \$20,000, three-fourths of which he borrowed from friends, Houck organized a company and agreed to finish the road by January 1, 1881. In spite of cold weather and a shortage of funds and materials, he ran the first locomotive into Cape Girardeau about three o'clock on the morning of January 1, although he had to take up some of the rails first laid down in order to complete the track. Between 1880 and 1905, Houck constructed over 500 miles of short-line railroads in southeast Missouri and southwest Illinois. As a result, southeast Missouri had more railway connections than any other section of the State. A large number of these roads at one time or another were in litigation and finally either through sale or foreclosure all of them passed into the hands of larger companies.

Along with his many other activities, Houck took an active part in the affairs of the Southeast Missouri State Teachers college, originally the State Normal school. It was due in part to his active interest and political connections with certain members of the State legislature that Cape Girardeau was selected as the site for this school. From 1886 until his death in 1925, he was a member of the board of regents, serving as president during the entire period except for two years when he was secretary. He was especially interested in the selection of well-qualified teachers and long regretted that

scientific agriculture was not included in the course of study. He gave to the school as a permanent gift the Gerber collection of statuary which was brought from Germany and shown at the St. Louis World's fair in 1904. Through his efforts, the college secured the Thomas Beckwith collection of Indian relics in spite of the desire of the Smithsonian institution to obtain this collection.

Houck's knowledge gained through extensive reading and his experience as a newspaper man, lawyer, business man, and educational director amply qualified him to write his *History of Missouri*. Just how long he worked collecting material for this book and when he decided to prepare it for publication, it is impossible to determine. He had always been a close student of history, and in the pursuit of his favorite subject he discovered that the early story of Missouri had never been told. That this period was rich in interesting material was first brought to his attention when, during his law practice, he discovered a large collection of documents in the courthouse at New Madrid, all of which had a direct bearing upon the early history of that part of the State. Planning at first to write a series of short sketches, he soon discovered that the subject warranted more serious consideration. The final outcome was a three-volume work of approximately 1,200 pages. It has been estimated that he worked more or less irregularly on the subject for twenty years.

Having begun the task in earnest, Houck soon learned that the desired information was widely scattered. He found it necessary to employ agents to search the archives of Canada, France, Spain, Cuba, and Mexico and adopted the plan of having them make exact copies of documents pertaining to early Missouri. His agent in Spain sent him more than 10,000 separate copies, many of which were later published in his *Spanish Regime in Missouri*. For several years, Houck spent his summer vacations of two or three months in the Congressional library at Washington, D. C., copying documents of value to add to his collection at Elmwood. He also spent considerable time at Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at Madison, Wisconsin, and at New Orleans, Louisiana. Houck pronounced that the library of the State Historical

Society of Wisconsin at Madison had the most complete collection of material relating to Missouri's early history in the United States.

In this wide search for material, special attention was given to the journals of early explorers and missionaries, the memoirs of the French military officers stationed in this country, church records, business papers which were left at the various posts at the time of the transfer, law reports, and private letters. To gather information about Indians, Houck's surveyors, when not occupied with railroad right-of-ways, chartered Indian mounds for their employer. Through the efforts of these surveyors and also the work of two experts for two years, approximately 28,000 mounds were located in the eastern part of Missouri.

Working whenever the mood seized him or when he felt the need of relaxation from his duties as a railroad builder and operator, Houck spent about four years preparing the manuscript. He employed a stenographer to take dictation but always wrote in longhand first and then dictated from the handwritten manuscript. The story is told that one day he gave a man a handwritten order for a load of hay and that the man used the order for a number of years as a free pass on Houck's railroads because the conductors could decipher nothing but the signature. This probably explains his reason for dictating the first draft. To avoid loss by fire, the stenographer made three copies, one of which was kept in Houck's study at Elmwood, one at his office in Cape Girardeau, and the third in the vault of one of the banks.

Houck avoided all questions regarding the total cost of producing his *History of Missouri*, but it has been estimated that he spent between \$80,000 and \$100,000 on it. He contracted for 2,400 copies to be printed from type and then ordered the type piled so there would be no succeeding editions. The three volumes were to sell for \$18 per set and by subscription only. Consequently, the sale of the entire edition would not have covered the estimated cost. However, the entire edition was not sold, for, at a meeting of the Missouri Historical Society in 1918, it was announced that Houck would give a set of this work to every first-class high school in the State

that would make application to the State superintendent of schools. There were 258 first-class high schools in the State at that time and the State department of education estimated that practically all of them took advantage of the offer. At public auctions in the past few years, these sets have sold for from \$13 to \$20.

For twenty years after the work first appeared, it received almost universal acclaim. Walter B. Douglas, who was president in 1903 and 1904 of the Missouri Historical Society, of which Houck was for a time a member of the advisory committee, read the manuscript before the last volume came from the press and stated "that it will be the most elaborate state history ever published and that no other state has anything to near equal it." Dr. Jonas Viles, reviewing it for the *American Historical Review* said:

The history is clearly written and despite the mass of factual information is redeemed from dullness by the enthusiasm, and especially in the later chapters, by the shrewd common-sense of the writer. But unless one is familiar with the unorganized condition of the materials and lack of preliminary studies, he cannot appreciate the difficulties of the subject, nor how successfully, on the whole, Mr. Houck has surmounted them. He has done a real service to the student of to-day and aid a broad foundation for the future.

The *Missouri Historical Society Collections* reported in 1911, that "the book may be depended upon for its accuracy, and in its comprehensiveness, its fairness and its readable quality it takes the lead among State histories." The *Missouri Historical Review* commented in 1925 that this history was then still considered "the most authoritative and exhaustive work of its kind" and also "the best interpretation of early Missouri." Perry S. Rader in his article, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri," published in 1929 in the *Missouri Historical Review*, was thinking in particular of this *History of Missouri* when he said that "his books will be cherished and praised long after other historians of this generation are forgotten. He has lightened the labors and sharpened the tools of every other Missouri historical writer. He is the historian's historian. His work is monumental, and will endure." By

common consent, it is still the standard work in early Missouri history.—*Contributed by Maynard C. Willis, Graduate Student, History Department, University of Missouri.*

MISSOURI MINIATURES

HENRY SHAW

A favorite spot for St. Louis visitors at almost any season is the Missouri Botanical garden, more generally known as "Shaw's Garden." Beautifully planned formal gardens, shrubs, fruits, flowers, trees, and plants of almost every kind combine with buildings and statues to make the grounds a show place of St. Louis and Missouri. Crowds, with an average yearly attendance of 380,000 during the past ten years, visit the garden that honors a flower-lover extraordinary, who wanted to share his garden with others.

Henry Shaw had almost a genius for making and securely investing money. This combined, apparently, with a life-long love for beautiful flowers, trees, and gardens. When in 1851 he returned to his native England as a wealthy and retired American merchant, he visited not only the World's Fair at London but also the beautiful grounds at Chatsworth. There amid the famous landscaping of the great home of the hereditary chiefs of Devonshire, one of the most magnificent and historic private residences in Europe, the inspiration came to Henry Shaw to make a garden of his own in St. Louis.

Traditionally, from the idea gained at Chatsworth came the Missouri Botanical garden. Shortly afterward, Shaw returned to America and spent the remainder of his long life in St. Louis, except for summer trips to the Atlantic coast or the northern lakes region.

Henry Shaw was born at Sheffield, England, on July 24, 1800. His parents, Joseph and Sarah Shaw, were natives of Leicester, and his father was a manufacturer of grates and fireirons. The boy attended school at the village of Thorne, and at the age of ten went to Mill Hill school near London. He stayed there for six years, showing especial interest in mathematics and French. The school was the old home of Peter Collinson, a friend of many well-known botanists, and was an example of beautiful landscaping in itself.

When young Henry Shaw was eighteen years old, he and his father came to Canada. Not long afterward, the elder Shaw sent him to New Orleans to learn the cotton business. Henry was not especially satisfied with that, however, and the next year boarded the steamer *Maid of Orleans* for St. Louis.

The small frontier town that he chose for his home was at that time fast becoming a bustling outpost for western emigrants. Houses were hard to find in frontier St. Louis, so Shaw installed himself in the second floor of a building at 7 North First street. In his upstairs room he opened up a hardware business, supposed to have been the first exclusive hardware store in St. Louis. In his second-floor room he cooked, ate, slept, and clerked and managed his hardware trade.

During this period, Shaw turned his interests seriously to making money. He hoped some day to gain a fortune large enough to allow him to return to his native England, for although he loved America, he always remained an Englishman at heart, preferring English books, pictures, furniture, and even his own English habits.

He remained rather aloof from the early social life of St. Louis and spent much of his time reading, working, and occasionally riding on horseback to the garden of Madame Saugrain to admire the flowers. His fluency in the French language, however, made the French people feel he was a "part" of them. He had an ability for combining work and play so as not to neglect the one for the other, and although he denied himself to some extent for his work, he refrained from carrying it to an extreme.

Examining his balance sheet for the year 1839, Shaw discovered that he had made a profit of \$25,000. Surprised at his own wealth, he decided that it was "more money than a man in his circumstances ought to make in a single year," and that it was time for him to quit his business. The opportunity to retire came the next year. Shaw sold his stock, and as the possessor of a fortune of \$250,000—it would equal just about a million today—he proceeded to enjoy himself and his hard-earned financial independence.

For ten years, Shaw indulged in his love of travel, visiting almost every part of the globe. His last trip included the visit to Chatsworth, and in 1851 he returned to St. Louis. Soon thereafter, the botanical garden idea began to take shape.

Dr. George Engelmann, then abroad, was commissioned to examine European botanical gardens and obtain suggestions. Shaw began a correspondence with Sir William Hooker, director of Kew gardens, and probably on his advice started a small library and museum. He erected a building, with ceilings painted to depict the flora of the world, to house the museum in 1858-1859.

He began work on a small garden, and about 1860 when the people showed an interest in it, "Mr. Shaw's garden" was opened to the public. He had secured in 1859 the passage of an act by the legislature of Missouri which enabled him to deed or will whatever property he wished to a board of trustees to maintain a botanical garden.

From this point, the plans grew with rapidity. A name was chosen for the institution, "Missouri Botanical Garden," and in the new library and museum Shaw put a collection of books and a large herbarium he had purchased from the late Professor Bernhardt. The great botanist Asa Gray helped him and advised him in making plans for his ambitious undertakings. Shaw never abandoned personal supervision of the garden, however, and in work on it and the Tower Grove park he spent the last twenty-five years of his life.

In 1866, James Gurney of the Royal Botanical gardens, London, came to the Missouri garden, and through his experience and training added much to its development. During this same year the first steps were taken toward the creation of Tower Grove park, a beauty spot of shaded walks, flowers, and groves which was Shaw's gift to the city in 1867 and which was opened in 1870 to the public.

Shaw's plans for St. Louis probably included a great school of botany with residences for professors, lecture halls, and laboratories in the garden. Dr. Gray advised against it, feeling that such things cannot be started all at once but must grow slowly. The idea apparently never left Shaw, however, for in the spring of 1885 he proposed to the directors of

Washington university to establish and endow a school of botany and offered the use of the garden for scientific study and investigation by both professors and students. In November of that year the Henry Shaw School of Botany was formally begun.

¹⁸⁸⁹ When he celebrated his eighty-ninth birthday on July 24, 1889, many St. Louisans turned out to his Tower Grove home to congratulate him. He was weak and feeble even then, however, and when a few weeks later he suffered an attack of malaria he was unable to overcome it. He died on August 25, 1889, in his favorite room in the old Tower Grove house.

On August 31, St. Louis honored him at a great funeral. After the ceremony, Henry Shaw was buried in his garden in the mausoleum which he had planned himself amid a grove of evergreens and plants. The mausoleum, octagonal and made of red granite and limestone, is topped by a recumbent effigy of Shaw done in white marble several years before his death by Baron Von Miller of Munich.

Shaw's old country residence, built at Tower Grove in 1849, became a museum. His old city house, built about the same time at Seventh and Locust streets, was torn down in 1891 and rebuilt in the garden, piece by piece, just as it was originally.

Shaw never married, although there have been many hints of romance in his life. In 1859, a Miss Effie Carstang sued him for \$100,000 for breach of promise and at first won the case. Shaw's lawyers traveled through the East where Miss Carstang had formerly lived, found a good many unsavory facts about the lady's past, secured a motion for a new trial, and won the case.

Generous, systematic, and businesslike in everything he did, Henry Shaw contributed in many ways to the city of his adoption. Not only did he make Tower Grove park and the Botanical garden possible, but he contributed to the art of the city. Huge bronze statues of Shakespeare, Humboldt, and Columbus, done by Baron Von Miller, were given to Tower Grove park. Marble statues of "Juno" and "Victory" are in the garden, in addition to the reclining marble figure of Shaw himself. He gave three marble busts to the garden,

likenesses of Linnaeus, Thomas Nuttall, and Dr. Asa Gray. These have been placed on a plant house. Six other marble busts, those of Rossini, Mozart, Gounod, Verdi, Wagner, and Beethoven, adorn the outer edge of the music stand in Tower Grove park.

Shaw's gift to the library of the Missouri Historical Society in 1886 of the historical library of the late Bishop Robertson, second Episcopal bishop of Missouri, marked the foundation of the Society's library, for Robertson's Americana collections were generally considered then among the finest in the West. He had the complete works of Dr. Engelmann collected and edited, also.

At one time, Shaw started research for a history of the Mississippi valley. Already well-acquainted with the French language, he learned Spanish as an aid in his research. Eventually, he gave up the project because he found so much already written that he felt nothing new remained. He did write one book called *Vine and Civilization* which discussed the vine botanically and the wine grape as well. It was distributed only among his friends.

In later life, Shaw, liked to gather a group of old friends around him in a restaurant and talk long over food, cigars, and wine. Perhaps his enjoyment of this led him to provide in his will for an annual banquet for the trustees of the Missouri Botanical garden and one for his gardeners and the florists and nurserymen in the St. Louis area.

By his will, also, he provided that an annual sermon be preached, by someone chosen by the bishop of the Episcopal church of the St. Louis diocese, using as the subject the "wisdom and goodness of God as shown in the growth of flowers, fruits, and other products of the vegetable kingdom."

Shaw's will set out the provisions for maintenance of the garden. He named a board of trustees, five of the nineteen holding their position because of another office they had, including the chancellor of Washington university, the bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Missouri, the president of the St. Louis school board, the mayor of St. Louis, and the president of the Academy of Science. Two honorary trustees, Dr. Gray and Professor Spencer F. Baird, were named in the will

but they preceded Shaw in death. Two others named in the will had died, and the courts decided the number of trustees should remain set at a total of fifteen in the future. Otherwise the board has been self-perpetuating.

The garden itself is under the immediate supervision of a director chosen by the board of trustees. Professor William Trelease became the first director soon after Shaw's death. Dr. George T. Moore is the present director.

Support for the garden Shaw planned to come from his estate, which totaled about \$2,000,000, mainly in land holdings. Most of the estate went into an endowment fund for the garden. Lowered property values when St. Louis started building up to the west have complicated the financial affairs, however. Funds have been needed to maintain the tropical station at Balboa, Canal Zone, the heart of the unusual collection of orchids, and to build up and open to the public the new arboretum.

The garden is the only public garden of its size and influence which does not receive financial assistance from federal, state, or city sources. In addition, the garden pays approximately one-fourth of its income in taxes. A total of more than \$2,500,000 has been paid to the city of St. Louis for general and special taxes since the death of Shaw in 1889. Not until almost twenty years after the founder's death, therefore, did the heavy load of special taxes lighten and the time to plan real developments in the garden arrive.

Although the will forbade selling any of the real estate, a court decision was obtained permitting the trustees to sell enough so that a tract of land outside the range of the city's smoke might be purchased. The 1600-acre tract at Gray Summit, Franklin county, and the arboretum there mark an extension of the garden. The city garden today includes seventy-five acres, with approximately 12,000 species of plants.

Very little has been done to honor Shaw. In 1934, however, the courts of St. Louis and Franklin counties adopted a plan to name a portion of Highway 66, from the city limits to the entrance of the arboretum, "Henry Shaw Gardenway." Shaw's greatest memorial remains in the garden, visited and enjoyed all through the year. Even in winter months, crowds

flock to the garden, for the continuous flower shows from November to April seem to draw more visitors than the summer months, sometimes attracting ten or fifteen thousand in a single Sunday.

Customarily considered as second only to the Kew gardens of England, the Missouri Botanical garden nevertheless ranks ahead of those gardens in some respects. Including the arboretum at Gray Summit, the garden is the largest public botanical garden in the world. Its display and creation of hybrid tropical water lilies and orchids likewise have no equals, while in scientific achievement it could compare favorably with any other garden. It was, at the time of its creation, the only botanical garden of its kind in this country. Today, "Shaw's Garden" remains a great tribute to a flower-loving Englishman who did so much for a Missouri city.

[Sources for data on Henry Shaw and the Missouri Botanical garden are: *Dictionary of American Biography* (1935), Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39; *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (1901), Vol. V, pp. 575-76; *The Missouri Botanical Garden*, by William Trelease (reprint from *The Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1903); *Henry Shaw's Will Establishing the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1889); *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 26, 1889, January 17, 1930, and August 7 and 23, 1939; and the various publications of the Missouri Botanical garden.]

FORT CARONDELET

Fort Carondelet, the most western fort erected in what is today the State of Missouri during the period of Spanish domination of Upper Louisiana, represented to the Spanish officials an effort to improve relations between Spanish authority and the Osage Indians. To Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, the fort meant an opportunity to carry on a lucrative trade with the Osage Indians. The only fort erected in western Missouri during the Spanish regime, Fort Carondelet may have been even the nucleus of a small French settlement which later persisted in scattered French houses. If this is true, it was the first white settlement in Vernon county, Missouri. The fact that a fort was erected on the Osage river illustrates the esteem in which early traders and travelers held the Osage river, the river which seems to have narrowly missed becoming the Missouri gateway to the Southwest.

The Chouteaus were given permission to trade with various Indian tribes as early as 1777 and became particularly well-acquainted and successful with the Osage Indians. In May, 1794, Auguste Chouteau took a delegation of Osage chiefs to New Orleans to discuss means of maintaining peace. Auguste Chouteau outlined a plan to Baron de Carondelet, governor general of Louisiana at that time, by which he thought the frequent assassinations and robberies of the Osages might be curbed. Auguste proposed that he and Pierre erect a fort in or near a village of the Osages and maintain a garrison which would strengthen the authority of the chiefs in restraining the young warriors and serve as a protective influence in the very heart of the Osage country. The proposal was accepted and in the contract Auguste described his plans. A fortified building to serve as a barrack would be erected, covered with tiles of brick or slate, and defended by four cannon and four swivel-guns. Detailed plans were submitted, giving the proportions of this stronghold. In addition, there would be other buildings such as a "large warehouse, a lodging for the commandant, a powder magazine built of brick or stone, a bakery, a kitchen . . . surrounded by a strong stockade of six inches in thickness and sixteen feet in height (of which four feet shall be left in the ground) forming a square. It shall have four bastions, with the corresponding footbank . . . and shall be placed on the height or hill which commands the village of the Osages." It was also agreed that Auguste should select twenty militiamen for defense of the stronghold and the royal treasury would pay him for the wages and maintenance of each one. Pierre was to be commandant of the stronghold. The expense of erecting and maintaining the fort was to be borne by the Chouteaus, who received in return exclusive trading privileges on the Osage for a period of six years. At the expiration of the six years, the fort and its dependencies were to be at the disposal of the Spanish government. The fort was to be built within eighteen months from the day the Chouteaus should arrive in the Osage country. The stronghold was named Fort Carondelet in honor of Baron de Carondelet.

The fort was finished apparently by the end of 1795, but the exact date is not known. On December 2, 1795, Baron de Carondelet wrote a report to his Excellency Don Luis de las Casas in which he related the whole scheme of Chouteau and explained it had been thought best to subdue the Osages in view of the activities of Genet on the Ohio river. He described Auguste Chouteau as "a very rich man very friendly to the name of Spaniard, and held in the highest esteem by those savages among whom he and his brother had lived in the early part of their career." Carondelet later reported all the provisions of the agreement had been carried out with

. . . . complete success. The fort and the buildings dependent on it have been finished; the savages have let our settlements alone during this year—so much so that they have not committed one murder, and on other hand have restored various arms and horses which their war parties had stolen, although the full number of these was not returned The inhabitants have succeeded in cultivating their fields and in working some lead mines that are very rich, but which their fear of the Osages had compelled them to abandon; and Don Renato Chouteau has begun a little colony in the neighborhood of the fort which is devoted to agriculture. Intercourse with these colonists will end in rendering the habits of those savages more gentle. . . .

The six-year contract between Chouteau and the Spanish government was to expire in 1800 and apparently was not renewed, because by 1802 Manuel Lisa had secured exclusive trading privileges on the Osage river and Pierre Chouteau and a group of the Osages had gone to the Arkansas country. It is certain, from Pike's account, that Manuel Lisa had a trading establishment near the former site of Fort Carondelet in this period. Visible evidence of Fort Carondelet did not remain long, for when Zebulon Montgomery Pike and Lieutenant James Wilkinson set out for the Southwest in 1806, they found "the spot being only marked by the superior growth of vegetation." From that point, according to Pike, it was nine miles across the prairie to the village of the Grand Osages. Also at that point, the east river bank was a solid bed of stone coal, and just below was a rapid ripple known as the Kaw Rapids where Collen or Colly Ford was located. The Indians must have preserved some of the armaments of the

fort, because Lieutenant Wilkinson wrote that when his party entered the village of the Little Osages, they were saluted by a discharge from four swivelguns which he believed the Indians had taken from the old fort. We know that the fort was still standing in September, 1800, and that Pierre Chouteau remained still as commandant. A letter at that time from Lieutenant Governor de Lassus to the Intendant, the Marquis de Casa Calvo, described a conference between the Osages and Spanish officers over the murder of two white settlers by the Osages. Fort Carondelet was mentioned in the letter and Pierre Chouteau was present.

It is now believed that Fort Carondelet was erected in the vicinity of the present Halley's Bluffs in Blue Mound township of Vernon county. Early settlers found evidence of defensive works at the bluffs, and huge cistern-like holes in the stone at the base of the bluffs still remain. It is believed that Pike's description of the site of the fort coincides with this location.

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

Writers invariably refer to the Mississippi as the "Great River," the "Father of Waters," the "Body of the Nation." They write of its majesty and beauty, its glory and its glamour. Truly, the Mississippi in all its beauty is a majestic phenomenon. The glory of this body of water comes from its rich commerce and for its glamour we look to memories of the past, recorded so vividly by Missouri's own humorist, Mark Twain, and other authors.

The romance universally associated with the Mississippi river is enhanced by its historical significance. It was the thoroughfare which brought the first white men to Missouri, the passageway for the swift progress of the westward expansion.

This bibliography includes titles of works which present these various phases of the Mississippi river, all pertinent to Missouri history. The works cited deal with its discovery and description, its scientific and historical importance, and its romance. As only those titles which are available in the library

of the State Historical Society of Missouri are listed, the bibliography is not exhaustive.

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DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That poetry written by Frederick Bates, who played an important role in the political life of Missouri during the territorial period and later served as the State's second governor, frequently appeared in the *Louisiana Gazette* published at St. Louis? Extracts from the poem "Life and Manners" were published regularly during the months of May and June, 1812, in the *Gazette* over the signature "F. Bates." Bates also compiled the first book published in Missouri. The book, entitled *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana*, was published in St. Louis in 1808.

That John M. Clemens, father of Samuel L. Clemens, promoted a railroad company as well as the famous Salt River Navigation company while he lived at Florida in Monroe

county? Clemens was named as a director of the Florida and Paris Railroad company which was incorporated February 1, 1837, six days after the incorporation of the navigation company. Clemens and four other residents of Monroe county were in the lists of incorporators for both companies. The capital stock of the railroad was fixed at \$100,000 and the company was authorized to make the necessary arrangements to lay "a single or double track beginning at or near the forks of Salt River or at or near the town of Florida in Monroe county" and running to Paris. Clemens was also named as a trustee of the Florida academy which was incorporated February 6, 1837. Neither the railroad nor the navigation venture materialized and two years later Clemens moved his family to Hannibal.

That St. Mary's seminary at Perryville, known as "St. Mary's of the Barrens," was the first college in Missouri officially authorized by the State legislature to confer A.B., A.M., and other degrees? Organized in 1818 by a group of Lazarist priests who came from Europe for that purpose, the school has been called "the mother of education in Perry county." The Legislature granted its charter on November 28, 1822, and on December 13, 1830, authorized it to confer "all the honorary degrees which are usual to be conferred on students in other seminaries and colleges in the United States." St. Mary's served as a seminary and college until 1844, when the collegiate department was moved to St. Vincent's college at Cape Girardeau. St. Mary's is now the mother-house of the Vincentian Fathers.

That Missouri with 1,927 miles of navigable streams ranks thirteenth in mileage of navigable streams in the United States? A recent tabulation compiled by the war department shows that Louisiana ranks first with 7,232 navigable miles. The states of Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming have no mileage. Navigable waters within a state which do not by themselves or by uniting with other navigable waters, extend into other states were not included in the tabulation.

That Missouri's first governor, Alexander McNair, recommended the incorporation of a medical society and the establishment of a public hospital? In his second annual message to the legislature, delivered on November 4, 1822, Governor McNair said: "As health is essential to all the happiness and enjoyments of life, whatever has a tendency to preserve and promote it, is worthy your most serious consideration. Ardently wishing this invaluable blessing to be enjoyed throughout the State, I will suggest the expediency of incorporating a medical society. The establishment of a public hospital at some convenient point would be no small relief to those of our citizens who inhabit the borders of our navigable waters. The fact is well known, that many boatmen and others are annually left sick upon our shore, dependent solely on private charity for medical and other assistance." However, it was not until fifteen years later, eleven years after the death of McNair, that the State legislature incorporated a medical society as he had recommended. The Medical Society of Missouri at St. Louis, organized in 1836, was incorporated January 25, 1837, "in order to encourage medical science, and to give dignity, permanency, and usefulness to the said institution." In November, 1850, members of the society sponsored the organization of the Medical Association of the State of Missouri which continued to exist until 1858. The present Missouri State Medical association was organized in 1867.

That Judge George Tompkins of Howard county was the only judge of the Missouri Supreme Court who retired because he had reached the age limit of 65 years prescribed by the Constitution of 1820? The Constitutions of 1865 and 1875 did not fix age limits for Supreme Court judges. Judge Tompkins, who was appointed to the Supreme Court bench in April, 1824, to succeed Judge John Rice Jones, retired on March 29, 1845.

That, although theoretically local authority rested solely with the lieutenant governor or his subordinates during

the Spanish regime in Missouri, matters of common interest such as street repairs and drainage, were decided in St. Louis by syndics who were nominated by an assembly of the inhabitants?

That Missouri's first State building, erected with public funds, was the statehouse which was completed in 1826 at a cost of \$18,808.21? Necessary improvements made in 1829 increased the total cost of the building and grounds to \$20,141.13. The building was planned originally as the governor's residence and served a dual role until 1834 when the legislature made provision for another governor's home. The capitol was destroyed by fire in 1837 after provision had already been made for the erection of a new building. The second public building erected by the State was the penitentiary. The legislature in 1833 made provisions for the penitentiary and appropriated \$25,000, or \$5,000 more than the cost of the capitol, for its erection.

That in the congressional election of 1828 when two Jackson Democrats, Spencer Pettis and Dr. William Carr Lane, were running against the incumbent, Edward Bates, Senator Thomas Hart Benton acted as umpire and decided who should withdraw from the race? His decision was published in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* on July 24, 1828, under the heading "Proclamation of the Dictator" and was in favor of Pettis because he united "more support with the people." Dr. Lane, accordingly, withdrew the next day from the race. Pettis served as secretary of state from July 22, 1826, until December 31, 1828, and according to a later report on the campaign, he added notes to his official correspondence to the effect, "Please say that I am a candidate for Congress."

That annual payments into the United States treasury for public lands sold in Missouri totaled more than one million dollars in five different years—1836, 1839, 1854, 1855, and 1856? In 1836, land sales in the State were the highest on record.

In that year, 1,655,687.66 acres were sold for \$2,071,204.35 and the payments into the treasury amounted to \$1,921,045.89.

That Lewis Fields Linn was the only Missourian ever unanimously elected to the United States senate? First appointed by Governor Daniel Dunklin in 1833 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Alexander Buckner, he was elected by the general assembly in 1834 to complete the term. He was unanimously re-elected in 1836 by the Missouri legislature for a full term, receiving a unanimous vote totaling 100, as two members of the house were absent. Linn was elected the third time to the senate in 1842, shortly before his death in 1843.

That Uriel S. Hall, Democrat of Randolph county, who represented the second congressional district of Missouri in the fifty-third and fifty-fourth Congresses earned the sobriquet "father of the income tax" by his work in support of the tax measure which was passed in 1894, although he was not a member of the ways and means committee which drafted the act? The *New York World* of January 26, 1894, characterized the Missouri congressman in this manner: "Mr. Hall of Missouri, 'the father of the income tax,' tall, bald and ungainly, ambitious to be this modern Franklin, had his kite ready all day on a back seat, grim and frowning, and not unlike a thunderbolt himself, he impended all day over the assemblage, chewing his heavy red mustache and glowering at the chairman who refused to recognize him." The act, which provided for a tax of 2 per cent on income of individuals in excess of a personal exemption of \$4,000, went into effect on January 1, 1895, but was declared unconstitutional in March of that year.

That the first wheeled vehicle to enter Idaho was the four or six pounder cannon sent from St. Louis in 1827 by William H. Ashley? Two years earlier, Ashley had recognized that wagons might be used in crossing the mountains.

VERSE IN THE MISSOURI PIONEER PRESS

"MEMOIRS OF MY OWN TIMES"¹

"This World is all a fleeting show,"
And like "a stormy day,"²
Says Moore, & though I've found it so,
I still incline to scay.

I'm weary of the daily themes,
And troubled with the blues;
I scout all speculating schemes,³
And sicken at the news.

I wade through columns black with storm,
With lightning and with thunder;
"Sea Serpents" rear their scaly forms,
And claim my special wonder.

The *Bank* and *yellow fever's* rage,
Are sent me "by the mails,"
And then upon another page
I've lots of "sheriff's sales."

I've read the "Sketch Book," 1 and 2⁴
Lord Byron's *Poems* twice;
Read "Hoffman's *specie payments*" thro'
And "Salmagundi" thrice.

When all the mail, as oft I choose
To wait with gaping mouth,
It opens with "no sales for shoes,"
And "Failures at the south."

¹The title of the poem is the same as the title used by General James Wilkinson for his autobiography which was published in 1816 and which has been described as "three turgid and confused volumes of documents which are significant for what they omit." General Wilkinson became the first governor of the separate territory of Louisiana in the spring of 1805.

²Quotation from "This World Is All a Fleeting Show" by Thomas Moore.

³A biographer of General Wilkinson said: "Intrigue was his ruling passion and hard drinking too often his nemesis . . . His greed for money often led him to overestimate both his ability and integrity."

⁴The same biographer says that Wilkinson was caricatured by Washington Irving, denounced by Andrew Jackson, and challenged and publicly insulted by Samuel Swartwout.

And if I ramble through the street,
In hopes to join some friend,
The salutation which I meet
Is "have you cash to lend?"⁵

Then "what is this dull world to me?"
I fain would elsewhere go;
But do not fancy Tennessee,
And Mobile lies too low.

The Carolinas are too warm,
And in Vermont I freeze,
In New Orleans mosquitoes swarm,
And in Kentucky—fleas.

The frontier states will never suit,
As lobsters can't be had;
And where we find the choicest fruits,
The people are "too bad."

Then waft me Peace, to some fair isle,
Upon thy spotless wings,
Where nature wears a constant smile,
And Philomela sings.⁶

From the Jackson *Missouri Herald*, March 4, 1820.

⁵These complaints reflect the general depression which followed the panic of 1819. Conditions did not become acute in Missouri until the latter part of 1820 and the spring of 1821.

⁶Wilkinson died, December 28, 1825, in Mexico City.

FROM THE *Winyaw Intelligencer*

The following Parody is from a friend in Charleston, and presents a good picture of the times.⁷

What's this dull town to me?
No cash is here!
Things that we used to see,
Now don't appear.
Where's all the paper bills,
Silver dollars, cents and mills?
Oh! we must check our wills;
No cash is here.

What made the city shine?
Money was there.
What makes the lads repine
No cash is here.
What makes the planters sad
Factors crazy, merchants mad?
Oh! times are very bad;
No cash is here.

Oh! curse upon the Banks;
No credit's there.
They issue nought but blanks,
No cash is there.
Hard times the men cry,
Hard times the women sigh,
Ruin and mis-e-ry;
No cash is here.

ROBERT

From the *Jackson Missouri Herald*, August 13, 1819.

⁷The theme of this poem, "What's this dull town to me?" was evidently very popular. Note its use in the preceding and succeeding poems.

WEBB'S LAMENTATION⁸

Tune "Robin Adair"

What's this dull town to me? Old Nick's not here.⁹
 Things that I used to see, now disappear:
 Where's all the Mammoth's bills,
 Silver dollars, cents and mills?
 O! we all must check our wills,
 No cash is here.

What made the *Courier* shine?¹⁰ Money was here.
 What makes me now repine? 'Tis gone I fear;
 What makes Mannassah sad,¹¹
 Thurlow crazy,¹² Duff Green mad?
 O! the times are very bad,
 No cash is here.

O! curse upon the Bank! Its days are very few,
 Old Nick is but a blank—Alas! 'tis true,
 Hard times the bank men cry,
 Hard times, is Nick's reply;
 Ruin and misery
 For me, I fear.

From the *Jeffersonian Republican*, August 2, 1834.

⁸James Watson Webb acquired the *New York Morning Courier* in 1827 and in 1829 he merged it with the *New York Enquirer*. He published the paper until he sold out to the *New York World* in 1861. At first, Webb supported Jackson but deserted him on the bank issue.

⁹Nicholas Biddle.

¹⁰*New York Morning Courier*.

¹¹Reference might be to Mordecai Manuel Noah who founded the *New York Enquirer*.

¹²Thurlow Weed.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from May to July, 1940, the following members of the Society have increased its membership as indicated:

SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Kocian, Arthur A., St. Louis

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Honig, L. O., Kansas City

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Muench, Julius T., St. Louis

Shapleigh, A. L., St. Louis

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Overall, C. E., Campbell

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Connaway, John W., Columbia

Jackson, N. D., Independence

Winkelmaier, R. C., St. Louis

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Britton, J. Boyd, Boston, Mass.

Davis, Charles B., Webster Groves

Duggins, Mrs. M. C., Slater

Easton, H. C., Jefferson City

Geerling, John H., St. Louis

Howe, K. W., Webster Groves

Hunter, Stephen B., Cape Girardeau

Jackson, W. Rufus, St. Louis

Johnson, Waldo P., Osceola

Kelleter, Paul D., Kirkwood

Lay, Mrs. Josephine, Jefferson City

Ritzenthaler, J. L., Jefferson City

Rozier, George A., Perryville

Sawyer, Samuel W., Kansas City

Shaner, Dolph, Joplin

Smith, F. M., Independence

Thomas, Hazel A., Mexico

Thompson, Henry C., Bonne Terre

Wright, Mrs. Lillian, St. Louis

ONE NEW MEMBER

Archer, Edgar, Liberty

Austin, C. S., Carrollton

Baynes, R. F., New Madrid

Bayse, Otto, Kansas City

Bloker, C. F., Caruthersville

Boehmer, Julius, Fenton

- Boogher, Lawrence, St. Louis
 Bradshaw, W. L., Columbia
 Brown, R. W., Jefferson City
 Browning, Josephine, Jefferson City
 Burneson, Alma L., St. Louis
 Cargill, Ray L., Kansas City
 Carpenter, D. B., Hallsville
 Coil, Mrs. Paul E., Mexico
 Covert, C. E., Houston
 Craig, J. T., Independence
 Cramer, B. B., Flat River
 Dail, Delmar, Marceline
 Detjen, Gustav, St. Louis
 Dickson, Mrs. L. N., Slater
 Fenwick, W. M., St. Louis
 Goodwin, Cliff B., Marshall
 Gow, Tevis, Kearney
 Gray, Chester H., Washington,
 D. C.
 Guenther, William H., Lexington
 Halligan, C. J., Union
 Hanes, C. O., Jefferson City
 Hanks, Madeline, Higginsville
 Harvey, T. H., Marshall
 Henderson, William B., Kansas
 City
 Hendrix, Omer, Bonne Terre
 Heusi, Sam, Higginsville
 Hoss, O. H., Nevada
 Hull, Elizabeth C., St. Louis
 Hurt, Mrs. Cora K., New Franklin
 Jayne, E. M., Kirksville
 Johnson, Arch A., Springfield
 Jurden, Guy E., St. Louis
 Kern, Carl W., St. Louis
 Kitchen, William A., Kansas City
 Kleine, H., Jr., Slater
 Knight, Homer L., Leadwood
 Knipmeyer, Gilbert, St. Louis
 Luedde, W. H., St. Louis
 McCarty, Sterling H., Caruthers-
 ville
 McDaniel, Lex, Kansas City
 McDonald, C. M., St. Louis
 McReynolds, Elizabeth, Jefferson
 City
 Mahin, Scott, La Monte
 Meriwether, Charles L., Jr., Louis-
 iana
 Moll, Justus R., Jefferson City
 Montgomery, J. T., Sedalia
 Morton, Stratford Lee, St. Louis
 Nahler, E. G., St. Louis
 Nangle, John J., St. Louis
 Neal, M. Pinson, Columbia
 Niesen, F. E., St. Louis
 Osborn, Mrs. D. R., Kansas City
 Painter, W. R., Carrollton
 Palmer, C. S., Kansas City
 Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
 Remmers, Oliver T., St. Louis
 Rissler, W. B., Pleasant Green
 Rodgers, H. D., Benton
 Scott, C. C., Sikeston
 Sears, C. N., Kansas City
 Shoemaker, Mrs. F. C., Bucklin
 Simpson, Noah W., Canton
 Singleton, Caroline B., St. Louis
 Smiley, George B., Hannibal
 Stevens, Beverly Cordell, St. Louis
 Stewart, Mark A., Louisiana
 Stinson, John T., St. Louis
 Strong, Charles M., Macon
 Sturgis, H. S., Neosho
 Sugg, T. J., Carrollton
 Thompson, Mrs. J. Frank, Columbia
 Trickett, Dean, Tulsa, Okla.
 Tull, Mrs. J. D., Columbia
 Wall, Edward E., St. Louis
 Walsh, Mrs. Edward P., St. Louis
 White, Mrs. Ella, Caledonia
 White, J. T., Jefferson City
 Whitlow, W. B., Fulton
 Wright, Charles C., St. Louis
 Wright, Robert R., Columbia
 Wroughton, E. P., St. Louis
 Yancey, T. R., Jefferson City

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

MAY-JULY, 1940

Two hundred and fifty-three applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from May, 1940, to July, 1940, inclusive. The present total of annual members is 2,578.

The new members are:

Abels, Martin, Houston	Carson, Charles W., Jefferson City
Acom, O. H., Wardell	Carter, Albert H., Dexter
Adair, Lola, Marceline	Casa Editrice Libraria, Milan, Italy
Adam, Fred B., St. Louis	Chastain, Mrs. Eudora, Marshall
Adcock, Mrs. Ida Grim, Columbia	Chorn, William G., Jefferson City
Akers, John, Caledonia	Clarenbach, Fred A., Columbia
Alexander, W. W., Trenton	Cochran, Mrs. E. W., Campbell
Anderson, J. P., St. Louis	Cochrum, Kern L., St. Louis
Arnstein, Herbert N., St. Louis	Cooper, Harry L., St. Louis
Baker, Laura Mary, St. Joseph	Cramer, C. A., Kansas City
Ball, Frank C., St. Louis Co.	Crisler, Robert M., Columbia
Barks, Horace, St. Louis	Crump, Lena, Stoutsville
Barron, Dewey, Marshall	Curlee, S. H., Jr., St. Louis
Bay, J. Christian, Elmhurst, Ill.	Curtis, Thomas B., St. Louis
Beazley, Katherine, Jefferson City	Davis, J. Lionberger, St. Louis
Beck, J. L., Jefferson City	Dean, John B., St. Louis
Beer, L. W., St. Louis	De Clue, Benjamin F., Bonne Terre
Benson, R. M., Carrollton	Degen, Sam M., St. Louis
Bissell, Daniel R., St. Louis Co.	Desloge, George T., St. Louis
Blodgett, Henry W., St. Louis	Douglas, R. L., St. Joseph
Bockhorst, Carl W., Jefferson City	Douglass, Tom R., McBaine
Boehmer, Julius, Jr., St. Louis	Drews, Lester C., St. Louis
Bohling, W. H., Jefferson City	Drisler, Harry P., Jefferson City
Boyd, C. R., Fulton	Drost, W. G., Clayton
Bradshaw, J. D., Leeton	Duffy, R. E., Jefferson City
Bramman, W. J., St. Louis	Duggins, Mrs. M. C., Slater
Brett, H. B., II, Mexico	Dunn, L. E., St. Louis
Brewer, Oscar S., Kansas City	Durant, Adrian J., Jr., Columbia
Brumbach, Mrs. Homer, Macon	Dyer, David A., St. Charles
Bryant, Howard S., Warrensburg	Dyer, George L., St. Louis
Buck, Henry W., Kansas City	Easley, Harry, Webb City
Burton, Anna Mae, Jefferson City	Edwards, Paul R., San Francisco
Burton, Ella, St. Louis	Eitelgeorge, F. S., Higginsville
Bush, Hubert L., Hannibal	Elder, Curtis H., Columbia
Byland, Mrs. Samuel J., Wellsville	Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore
Carroll, James M., Moberly	

- Eschenbrenner, Daniel W., St. Louis
 Evans, J. L., Bonne Terre
 Everett, Mrs. A. J., Slater
 Ewing, George M., Columbia
 Ferry, Ray P., Nevada
 Fitzgerald, R. L., Kansas City
 Ford, Roland H., Kansas City
 Forrest, Temple, Belton
 Frink, H. R., Hallsville
 Gale, Linda B., Fredericktown
 Gaugh, Walter Whitney, Kansas City
 Gazzolo, Louis F., Jr., St. Louis
 Gebelein, June, Webster Groves
 Geerling, H. W., St. Louis Co.
 Geerling, J., Jr., St. Louis
 Gershenson, Harry, University City
 Gessler, Edward C., St. Louis
 Gibson, F. I., St. Louis
 Giessing, Mrs. Amanda, Farmington
 Gladish, Margaret, Higginsville
 Goodman, Frank F., Independence
 Graves, Mary F., Macon
 Graves, William E., Kansas City
 Green, George F., Kansas City
 Guenther, L. W., St. Louis Co.
 Guitar, Sarah, Columbia
 Gwatkin, W. E., Jr., Columbia
 Haas, Charles, Sr., Neosho
 Hampton, Elsie, Fulton
 Hanson, Paul M., Thurman, Iowa
 Hardin, Hord, St. Louis
 Haren, I. Price, Kansas City
 Harris, Frank G., Columbia
 Harrison, C. L., Kirkwood
 *Haw, Uriel P., Benton
 Hawkins, A. L., Jefferson City
 Hayward, Edgar M., Jefferson City
 Heege, George F., Kirkwood
 Henry, J. Porter, St. Louis
 Hensley, J. F., Fulton
 Herider, Dan V., Jr., Slater
 Hickman, Agnes W., Kansas City
 Highberger, John C., Jefferson City
 Hoffman, Herbert C., Kansas City
 Hoy, A. B., Marshall
 Hunter, Mac, Cape Girardeau
 Hurt, Mrs. Annabel M., Pleasant Green
 Huston, F. A., Deepwater
 Jenkins, Stella F., Kansas City
 Johnson, Crawford, St. Louis
 Johnson, K. O., Jefferson City
 Jones, Stonewall Jackson, Carrollton
 Kaiser, Martin C., St. Louis
 King, C. E., Webster Groves
 King, E. C., New York City
 Klobasa, E. Louis, St. Louis
 Knopheide, J. E., Kansas City
 Koepp, Mrs. Ella B., Perryville
 Koger, George C., Sibley
 Kramer, Fred A., Clayton
 Laffoon, Edgar, Kearney
 Landis, W. F., Clayton
 Lathrop, John H., Kansas City
 Lawler, D. Senn, Kansas City
 Lawrence, P. J., St. Louis
 Lawver, A. Briggs, St. Louis
 Lee, Mrs. Clara Pence, Sibley
 Leech, C. A., Columbia
 Leffen, W. J. J., Joplin
 Le Page, Henry G., Jefferson City
 Libby, Harry J., Shelbina
 Linxwiler, A., Jefferson City
 Lloyd, Gene R., New Madrid
 McCall, Greene D., Fulton
 McClure, Harry A., Kansas City
 McDonald, George, St. Louis
 MacDougall, D. D., Kansas City
 Mater, J. E., Sedalia
 Maxwell, Howard G., Moberly
 Means, Lewis M., Jefferson City
 Medicus, Mrs. B. L., Versailles
 Meier, Duncan I., Kirkwood
 Melsheimer, Edward C., St. Louis
 Merritt, Elman M., Kennett
 Miller, Frederick B., Sumner
 Miller, Mrs. Grace L., Palm Springs, Calif.
 Mills, Loren M., Hannibal
 Moher, Mrs. Harriet, St. Louis
 Moon, J. O., Independence
 Moore, Oren I., Liberty

- Moore, Robert M., Washington,
D. C.
- Morton, Mrs. Daniel, St. Joseph
- Muench, Max S., University City
- Murphy, John W., Kirkwood
- Naxera, Anna, Louisiana
- Neosho Public Library, Neosho
- Nolen, Oliver W., Jefferson City
- Norris, William K., Clayton
- Orr, A. H., Mt. Leonard
- Otto, Carl, Creve Coeur
- Owens, Jesse N., Jefferson City
- Patton, Mrs. Louise B., St. Louis
- Pearson, Sam C., Kansas City
- Peeler, Mrs. W. B., Mexico
- Pletcher, Kenneth E., Eldon
- Pleus, John B., Jefferson City
- Price, William A., St. Louis
- Rademacher, W. H., Clayton
- Rambo, William W., Jefferson City
- Reading, Frank M., Peculiar
- Reardon, Wilson, Caruthersville
- Reed, Grace, Kansas City
- Reppy, Mrs. J. H., Hillsboro
- Rice, Mrs. Mary B., Campbell
- Richardson, Harry H., St. Louis
- Richart, Granville A., Kansas City
- Robb, Lucius W., Perryville
- Roberts, M. G., St. Louis
- Ross, Charles E., Huntington,
W. Va.
- Rottman, F. A., St. Louis
- Rudloff, Martin A., St. Louis
- Ruether, Olivia J., St. Louis
- Salveter, Henry C., Sedalia
- Schade, Wilfred, St. Louis
- Schaefer, Paul A., Jefferson City
- Schmidt, Mrs. Ida E., Marthasville
- Schnelle, Mrs. J. A., Pollock
- Scott, R. C., St. Louis
- Scruggs, Cliff G., Jefferson City
- See, Laura G., St. Louis
- Seibert, Lydia M., Creve Coeur
- Seibold, Charles, Jefferson City
- Sells, O. V., St. Louis
- Senn, G. William, St. Louis
- Settle, William A., Jr., Greenville
- Shackelford, Earl H., Jefferson City
- Shryock, Anna May, Columbia
- Sizer, Fielding P., Jr., Jefferson City
- Smart, James G., Kansas City
- Smith, Israel A., Independence
- Smith, Vance O., Clayton
- Statler, Hinkle, Cape Girardeau
- Stevenson, Paul, Moberly
- Stewart, V. H., Jefferson City
- Stinson, Ben A., University City
- Sword, Wayne, Kirkwood
- Tenney, E. H., Jr., Webster Groves
- Thielecke, Erwin J., St. Louis
- Thomas, Katherine Waite, Joplin
- Thompson, Mrs. Alida A., St. Louis
- Thompson, Mrs. Roy, Leadwood
- Titus, Harvey L., Lexington, Mass.
- Trail, Guy, New Haven
- Tronnes, O. E., St. Louis
- Valentine, Robert, Union
- Vandeventer, William L., Spring-
field
- Van Dyke, L. A., Jefferson City
- Vanlandingham, Mrs. Baysie, New
Franklin
- Vawter, Ruth, Jefferson City
- Wadlow, Mrs. Ernest E., St. Joseph
- Wadlow, Ernest E., St. Joseph
- Wadsworth, Laura Ellen, Flat River
- Wahlers, Roy, Alma
- Waltner, Harry G., Jr., Jefferson
City
- Ware, Mrs. John M., Tulsa, Okla-
homa
- Welman, J. C., Kennett
- Whelan, Harry G., St. Louis
- White, Mrs. Harold, Campbell
- White, Howard E., Mission, Kan.
- White, Warner W., Jefferson City
- Whitener, Mrs. C. L., Frederick-
town
- Wightman, Fred, Braymer
- Wilhite, V. W., Moberly
- Williams, Stewart, California
- Winius, Enno D., Clayton

Winkler, John A., Hannibal
Winston, Waldon C., Columbia
Woodson, Winston H., Kansas City
Wornall, Mrs. John B., Kansas City

Wrape, Harold J., St. Louis
Zeigel, Roland A., Kirksville
Zuber, Cletus V., Jefferson City

*Deceased.

CAPE GIRARDEAU COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY DISBANDS FOR SUMMER

The Cape Girardeau County Historical society decided to disband for the summer months at the regular meeting June 24, 1940, in Cape Girardeau. Mrs. O. E. Schoembs exhibited a scrapbook which had been compiled by the late Colonel G. C. Thilenius. This scrapbook contains almost a complete history of the State Line railroad which was never built and a discussion of the effect of the bond issue for the road on the financial condition of Cape Girardeau township and a number of individuals.

A large part of the society's historical collections was catalogued, indexed, and filed during June, 1940. Since its organization in August, 1926, the society has been collecting and preserving original documents, old papers and books, copies of historic documents, and other material, all of which is now kept in a steel filing cabinet provided by the county court for the society's collections.

CLAY COUNTY MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY SPONSORS FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

The Clay County Missouri Historical society sponsored a Fourth of July celebration at the old Watkins mill and farm. The society has worked on a project for the past six years to have the farm converted into a State park. Edgar Laffoon, vice-president of the society, presided as master of ceremonies for the celebration and Conn Withers, prosecuting attorney of Clay county, delivered the patriotic address. Robert Moore of Excelsior Springs, a director of the county society, related some interesting facts connected with his research work in preparing a brochure on the old Watkins mill. This sketch will be published as a part of the promotional work

on the park project. Frank Waers of Plattsburg, who was born on the Watkins farm, and Judge J. C. Shelton of Excelsior Springs made interesting reminiscent talks. Spencer Watkins, grandson of the pioneer Waltus L. Watkins, now resides on the farm and was the host for the day.

HOWARD-COOPER HISTORICAL SOCIETY HAS PICNIC

Members of the Historical Society of Howard and Cooper counties enjoyed a picnic supper, July 25, 1940, at the Fayette city park. There was no program arranged for the meeting. Officers present were: L. A. Kingsbury of New Franklin, president; Miss Edwina Nelson of Boonville, secretary; and Charles van Ravenswaay of Boonville, historian.

CIVIL WAR LETTER READ TO MADISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mrs. J. W. Andrews, president of the Madison County Historical society, presided at the regular meeting on May 3, 1940, in Fredericktown. Miss Katie DeGuire exhibited a letter which was written by Henry Fox after the surrender at Vicksburg, describing the treatment given the officers and men by General U. S. Grant. The July meeting of the society was postponed.

MISSISSIPPI COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

The Mississippi County Historical society, which was organized December 15, 1939, plans to meet regularly on the third Friday of each month. Mrs. C. E. Graham of Charleston is president and Mrs. Rubye E. Thompson, secretary. John Fletcher, attorney of East Prairie, read an interesting paper on the history of East Prairie at the meeting on May 24, 1940, at the Charleston city library.

PHELPS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY SPONSORS SECOND ANNUAL PIONEER DAY

The second annual Pioneer Day picnic, sponsored by the Phelps County Historical society, took place at the site of the old Knotwell ironworks, now known as Alhambra Grotto,

near Newburg on Sunday, July 14. Following the picnic supper, State Senator Allen McReynolds, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, delivered the historical address in which he emphasized the importance of Phelps county in the history of the State and also the development of the mineral industry in southeast Missouri. Dr. E. A. Stricker, president of the county society, presided and Dr. R. E. Breuer of Newburg was in charge of the roll call of pioneer families. Dr. Clair V. Mann, secretary of the society, showed a series of lantern slides which he has collected for the society. James Greig gave an interesting discussion of early life in Phelps county. A vesper service of sacred songs was also a feature of the program. Antiques and old costumes were displayed in the old store building which William James erected for the Ozark Iron works about 1873. About 500 people attended the picnic and meeting.

At its May meeting, the executive committee of the Phelps county society decided to sponsor the publication of the history of Phelps county which Dr. and Mrs. C. V. Mann have just completed. Dr. C. H. Fulton is chairman of the editorial and publication committee which will be in charge of this project. The committee in charge of the county historical essay contest reported that about forty papers were submitted. A cash prize of \$5 was awarded to each winner in the three different divisions in the contest. The winning essays were: "My Views of Rolla and Phelps County," by Miss Amanda Livesay of Rolla, from the adult group; "A Typical Pioneer Family of Phelps County," by Miss Leo Mae Willeford of St. James, from the high school group; and "The Mayberry Family," by Miss Jeanette Beckman, from the grade school group.

SENATOR ROZIER SPEAKS AT ANNUAL PICNIC OF SALINE
COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

State Senator George A. Rozier of Perryville, first vice-president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, delivered an interesting address on "Arrow Rock and Saline County" at the annual picnic of the Saline County Historical society which was held at Arrow Rock Tavern on July 17, 1940.

Senator Rozier graciously took part on the program in the absence of Senator Allen McReynolds, president of the State Historical Society, who was unable to attend the picnic. Dr. W. Lee Carter, president of the Saline county organization, presided at the meeting and Senator Rozier was introduced by Floyd C. Shoemaker of Columbia.

In his address, Senator Rozier discussed the accounts of Saline county related by the early explorers and travelers, beginning with De Bourgmond, a Frenchman, who ascended the Missouri river up to the mouth of the Platte as early as 1714. He also emphasized the importance of Arrow Rock in the moving pageantry of Western expansion.

The Saline county society now has 327 members.

MISSOURI ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY PLANS CODE FOR IDENTIFICATION

At the annual spring meeting held in Hannibal on May 17, 1940, the Missouri Archaeological society adopted plans for a code to be used in identifying the various historic articles found in the State. The Marion-Ralls Archaeological society, host group for the meeting, has already adopted code "Ma" and "Ra" for identifying the artifacts found in those counties. Dr. J. Brewton Berry of the University of Missouri, who is secretary of the society, presented an illustrated lecture on "The Indians of Missouri." Other talks were made by Robert McCormick Adams of Webster Groves who is directing the excavations of the St. Louis academy of science in Jefferson county; Mrs. George Schoenback of Peoria, Illinois, who has made an extensive study of Indian pottery; and Carl H. Chapman of Steelville, a specialist in the classification of artifacts.

WILLIAM CLARK SOCIETY MAKES ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

The William Clark society of St. Louis made a pilgrimage to the Boone's Lick country for its annual historical field trip on June 15 and 16, 1940. Some members of the society stopped at Columbia and visited in the library of the State Historical Society and in the C. B. Rollins home. The eighteen members

of the party visited historic sites in Boonville and Arrow Rock, where they spent the night, and points of interest in Saline and Howard counties. Charles van Ravenswaay, secretary of the society, prepared a twenty-page mimeographed guide on the Boone's Lick country for the pilgrimage.

HISTORIC SITES MARKED BY ST. LOUIS COMMITTEE ARE LISTED

The historic sites committee of the young men's division of the St. Louis chamber of commerce issued a mimeographed report in May, 1940, which gives an excellent summary of the work accomplished by the committee during the past year. The report shows that the committee has placed seventy metal shield markers at historic sites and on historic buildings within the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial area in St. Louis. Twenty-nine metal shield markers have been placed outside of the area in that city. The committee has also placed eight bronze markers, three painting markers, and sixteen photograph markers outside the memorial area. The report lists in addition fifty-one other sites which have been marked with appropriate markers by other groups.

ERRATA AND EXPLANATIONS

The name of Nathaniel Greene, Revolutionary war general for whom Greene county, Missouri, was named, is misspelled on page 504 in the article on "Missouri Counties, Past and Present," in the July, 1940, issue of the *Review*. In the same article, on page 505, the middle initial of John Smith Phelps, for whom Phelps county was named, is incorrectly given as "F."

Historians disagree in regard to the origin of the name of Christian county. Some state that the county was named for Colonel William Christian of the Revolution and others maintain that it was named for Christian county, Kentucky. The Kentucky county was named for Colonel Christian, however, and for that reason his name was cited in the *Review* article, page 503, as the origin of the Missouri county name. There is also some disagreement over the origin of the name Polk county, some believing the county was named for a

William Polk, an uncle of one of the original county commissioners. The majority of historians seem to have accepted James K. Polk as the one whose name the county honors, however.

Correction is made in the "Do You Know, Or Don't You?" item on page 526 of the *July Review* which attributes to Nancy Ann Hunter the distinction of being the only mother of two United States senators. The item should read: "That to Nancy Ann Hunter, mother of Missouri's model statesman Lewis Fields Linn, goes the distinction of being the only woman with two sons and a grandson who became United States senators?" George B. Utley, librarian of the Newberry library in Chicago, graciously called attention to the error and cited another mother, Mrs. Louisa Margaret Norton Bryan, whose two sons William James Bryan and Nathan Philemon Bryan both served as United States senators from Florida.

OUTSTANDING ACQUISITIONS

The Kansas State Historical Society has graciously made it possible for the State Historical Society of Missouri to obtain microfilm copies of some of the *Kansas City Journal's* valuable newspaper files. Weekly files of the *Kansas City Enterprise* from November 10, 1855, to October 3, 1857, and the *Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce* from October 24, 1857, to December 27, 1860, and from January 3, 1861, to June 23, 1866, were added to the Society's collection of weekly newspapers. The files of the *Kansas City Daily Western Journal of Commerce* from December 17, 1858, to December 11, 1859; from June 15, 1860, to August 21, 1861; and from March 18, 1862, to June 30, 1865, were added to the daily newspaper collection. The Society's collections also include 417 bound volumes of the *Kansas City Journal*, covering the dates of September and November, 1884; January and March, 1885; June, July, September, and October, 1893; August 16, 1896, to February 15, 1898; March 16, 1898, to February, 1899; April, 1899, to December, 1900; and August, 1901, to date. The Kansas Society borrowed the newspaper files from the *Journal* and made the necessary arrangements to have them microfilmed co-operatively. Four

other institutions shared with the Missouri Society in the benefits of this project which the Kansas Society arranged.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Walter H. Ryle, president of the Northeast Missouri State teachers college at Kirksville, the Society has been able to complete its file of the official catalogues of that institution. Dr. Ryle graciously lent for photostating copies of the early catalogues of the North Missouri Normal school, including the second annual catalogue issued for the year ending June 26, 1868, and the catalogues for the years 1870-71, 1871-72, and 1876-77. No catalogue was printed for the institution during its first year.

Judge Elmer N. Powell of Kansas City has presented to the Society copies of the 1916 and 1917 *Pandex*, the annual issued by the Kansas City Law school before it was merged with the University of Kansas City in June, 1938. Harry Bitner, law librarian of the Kansas City university, has presented a copy of the 1911 *Pandex*. The Society's file of this publication now lacks only the annual published in 1914.

William J. Seever, widely known archaeologist of Webster Groves, has presented to the Society the notes which he made during a trip down the Gasconade river in 1894 to visit and examine certain caves in Pulaski county. Mr. Seever also donated five studies of the Kahokia mounds.

A brochure entitled *A Partial Family Record of the Descendants of Lee and Susan Penn Rollins Who Emigrated From Bourbon County, Kentucky, to Clay County, Missouri, in the Fall of 1830* has been presented to the Society by W. B. Rollins of Kansas City.

Through the kindness of Paul Alexander, editor of the *Paris Mercury*, the Society has obtained photostatic copies of the issues of the *Mercury* for June 20, 1846, and July 3, 1850.

Mrs. J. Frank Thompson of Columbia has added to the Society's collections a microfilmed copy of *An Abstract of North Carolina Wills from About 1760 to About 1800 Supplementing Grimes' Abstract of North Carolina Wills 1663-1760*, prepared from originals by Fred A. Olds, a collector for the North Carolina Hall of History.

Judge N. T. Gentry of Columbia recently donated to the Society three broadsides issued in Columbia concurrent with the November election in 1866. These bear the titles, *Appeal of Warren Woodson To the Voters of Boone County*, *Reply on Behalf of the Late Convention to Woodson's Appeal*, and *Rejoinder to the Reply of Gen. Guilar to the Appeal of Warren Woodson to the Voters of Boone County*.

W. B. Downing of Pilot Grove kindly lent the Society for microfilming the original record book of the monthly conferences of the Mount Nebo Baptist church in Cooper county from May, 1829, to August, 1855. Mrs. H. C. Neef of Boonville courteously arranged for the Society to obtain a copy of this valuable record book.

PHOTOGRAPH ACQUISITIONS

Recent gifts to the Society include a number of valuable photographs of Missourians and Missouri sites.

The Aurora community chamber of commerce has donated to the Society an eighty-page brochure of *Lawrence County in Pictures* which was published in 1937.

Lewis W. Roop, editor of *Glass Rays* which was formerly published at Crystal City, presented nine photographs of historic buildings and sites in Jefferson county.

The Society received three prints of historic buildings in Fulton from J. Scott Dutton of that city.

George F. Green of Kansas City gave the Society a photograph of an oil painting of Fort Osage which he painted himself.

Seven prints of Lebanon buildings were donated by Conrad R. Willard of the Lebanon chamber of commerce.

Seven pictures of buildings in Poplar Bluff were received from Miss Selma Goodman, secretary of the chamber of commerce in that city.

Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles gave the Society a photograph of the late William Smith Bryan which was taken with his grandniece, Miss Jo Ann Davis of Nevada, and a picture of Mr. Bryan's birthplace in St. Charles county.

Through the courtesy of Frank W. Taylor, managing editor of the *St. Louis Star-Times*, the Society received a print of the old St. Louis cathedral.

Jacob Kuhl of St. Louis presented a photograph which was taken at the ceremony for unveiling a plaque to the memory of Kate McSorley.

The Society received two photographs of the pony express memorial and one of the pony express barn in St. Joseph from E. H. Adams, assistant secretary of the St. Joseph chamber of commerce.

R. H. Sells of Savannah donated eleven photographs and one zinc etching of Savannah buildings.

The Society received a print of Meeker's cemetery and a print of the Island City Christian church from Robert Birbeck of Stanberry.

H. R. Mayo, secretary of the Trenton chamber of commerce, gave thirteen prints of various Trenton buildings and scenes.

Eight prints of Warrensburg buildings were received from J. Ernest Douglass of Warrensburg.

Mrs. U. S. Hall of Chicago has presented to the Society a photograph of her husband, the late Uriel S. Hall, Missouri congressman from Randolph county who was credited as the "father of the federal income tax." Mr. Hall also founded the U. S. Hall coaching school in Columbia.

The Society has received a photograph of an oil painting of John Howard as a gift from Preston Davie of New York. Mr. Howard was the father of Benjamin Howard who was the last governor of the territory of Louisiana and the first governor of the territory of Missouri.

ANNIVERSARIES

Special services commemorating the 108th anniversary of the founding of the Whitewater Presbyterian church near Lixville in Bollinger county were conducted on Sunday, June 30, and Monday, July 1. The Reverend S. E. Marrs of Patton was in charge of the Sunday services and the Reverend Ralph A. Waggoner of Sedalia was in charge of the Monday services. The church was organized on June 24, 1832, by the Reverend J. M. Sadd with sixteen original charter members.—From the *Fredericktown Democrat-News*, July 4, 1940.

The Bethel Baptist church, near Cosby in Andrew county, observed its centennial anniversary on Sunday, July 14, 1940. The first session of the St. Joseph Baptist association was held in the Bethel church in 1872.—From the *King City Chronicle*, July 19, 1940.

The Barry Christian church in Clay county celebrated its one hundredth anniversary on Sunday, May 26, 1940. The church was organized on April 26, 1840, when the community of Barry was just eleven years old. There were eighty-nine charter members of the church. The first church building was erected in the winter of 1840 and was replaced by the present building in 1860. A history of the church was read by Mrs. E. K. Williams at the anniversary service.—From the *Liberty Tribune*, May 30, 1940.

The Log Creek Primitive Baptist church in Rockford township of Caldwell county observed its centennial anniversary on Sunday, June 9, 1940. Elder Eli Penney, grandfather, and Elder James C. Penny, father of J. C. Penney, were among the early-day ministers of the church. Shortly after the exodus of the Mormons from Caldwell county, the old-school Baptists, also known as Primitive Baptists, began to conduct services in the log-cabin homes of the new settlers with a view of establishing a church of their faith.

Special services, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of its founding, were conducted at the Richland

Baptist church, north of Fulton, on Thursday, June 20, 1940. The church was organized June 20, 1840, at the Sallee school-house with seven constituent members. A brief history of the church, prepared by G. M. Robinson of McCredie, was read at the anniversary service by the Reverend K. E. Magruder, present pastor of the church.—From the *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette*, June 21, 1940.

Centennial services were conducted by the I. O. O. F. grand lodge and the Rebekah State assembly in Boonville, May 27-29, 1940. Far West Lodge No. 4 of Boonville held its first session on December 25, 1840, under a charter granted by the grand lodge of Missouri. On September 15, 1840, five members of the local order petitioned the grand lodge for a charter, and on September 29, 1840, the charter was issued.

The Tebo Baptist church, the oldest existing church organization within the present limits of Henry county, observed the centennial anniversary of its founding on June 30, 1940. This church was also the second organized in the county. The first, the Primitive Baptist church of Sardis, was organized north of Calhoun in 1839. The Tebo Baptist church, originally a Primitive Baptist or anti-missionary, entered the Tebo Baptist association as a missionary church in 1863. The first building served both as a church and as a school.

The one hundredth anniversary of the first Masonic communication in Lexington was celebrated with a special communication of the Lexington Lodge No. 149 on June 3, 1940. Henry C. Chiles delivered the anniversary address on the subject "One Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Lexington." The first lodge in Lexington was formed in the clerk's office of the courthouse on June 3, 1840.—From the *Lexington Advertiser-News*, June 4, 1940.

The New Bethel Methodist church, south of Sedalia, observed the one hundredth anniversary of its founding on Sunday, June 30, 1940. The church was organized in 1840 at

the close of a camp meeting which was conducted at Brown Springs. A tract of land was obtained on December 22, 1856, and the first church building erected. The church was known as Anderson's church until New Year's day, 1878, when a new building was dedicated and the name of the church changed from Anderson's to New Bethel.—From the *Sedalia Democrat*, June 21, 1940, and the *Sedalia Capital*, July 2, 1940.

The Market Street Methodist church, formerly the Methodist Episcopal church, South, at Warrenton, observed its one hundredth anniversary on Sunday, June 30, 1940. Dr. Charles W. Tadlock of St. Louis, whose first pastorate was the Warrenton church, preached the anniversary sermon. The history of the church was read by Miss Laura Wright.—From the *Warrenton Banner*, July 5, 1940.

The eighty-eighth anniversary of Mt. Shiloh Baptist church of Randolph county was celebrated May 26. A brief history of the church was read by Mrs. Ernest Heifner, church clerk and historian. The church was formed by Bartlett Anderson on May 29, 1852, with twelve charter members, and the following year a small frame house of worship was built in Darksville.—From the Moberly *Monitor-Index*, May 29, 1940.

The Second Baptist church of Lexington celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its organization with a week of special services from May 5 to 12, 1940.—From the *Lexington Advertiser-News*, May 10, 1940.

The Holy Cross Lutheran church of Emma, Missouri, celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding, the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the present church building, and the fifth anniversary of its present school with a week of special services from May 19 to 26, 1940.—From the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News*, May 15, 1940.

The Methodist church at Laclede observed its diamond jubilee on July 21, 1940. Bishop J. C. Bromfield of St. Louis, who is in charge of the Missouri area, was the principal

speaker for the service. Other special programs in celebration of the anniversary were planned for the summer.—From the Brookfield *Linn County Budget-Gazette*, July 15, 1940.

The Wentworth military academy at Lexington celebrated its sixtieth anniversary on Sunday, May 19, 1940. Governor Lloyd C. Stark delivered the anniversary address. Jesse Crenshaw, who graduated from the academy in 1885 and who is the school's oldest living alumnus, was an honored guest at the anniversary program. The academy, organized in 1880 by Stephen G. Wentworth, was made a post of the national guard of Missouri in 1889.—From the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of May 20, 1940.

The annual commencement exercises of William Woods college in Fulton on May 27, 1940, commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the college. Miss Mary Margaret McBride, radio commentator and author, and one of the most distinguished graduates of the college, returned to deliver the commencement and anniversary address. W. Ed Jameson, president of the board of directors of the college, presented a gold medallion to Miss Fannie Willis Booth in tribute of her service to the college during the entire fifty years of its existence. Dr. Henry G. Harmon, president of the college, conferred degrees on a class of ninety-six. Forty-nine of the fifty graduating classes were represented at the anniversary programs.—From the *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette*, May 27, 1940.

The fiftieth anniversary of the cornerstone laying and dedication of the Chula Methodist church building was observed July 14 and 15. Extant records of the church date back to 1865 when meetings were held alternately at Gordonville and Centerville schoolhouses. Centerville later became Chula.—From the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, July 10, 11, and 15, 1940.

Special services were held July 14 at the Wheeling Christian church commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the church building in 1890. The church itself

was organized August 4, 1870, with 23 charter members and a schoolhouse was used for the first services.—From the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, July 15, 1940.

Iberia junior college at Iberia commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding on May 29, 1940. The college was opened as Iberia Academy on October 1, 1890, by Professor G. Bryon Smith, who is the present president of the college, and Mrs. Smith. William H. Danforth of St. Louis delivered the commencement and anniversary address. Iberia junior college is the sole survivor of the four academies started in the Middle West in the 1880's and 1890's by the Congregational board of home missions. The other three institutions were Kidder institute at Kidder, Missouri, which closed in 1933, Rogers academy in Arkansas, and Southern collegiate institute at Albion, Illinois.—From the *Iberia Sentinel* of May 30, 1940, and the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian* of May 23, 1940.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The D. A. R. memorial plantation, a five-acre tract planted with 5,000 small pine seedlings near Poplar Bluff, was dedicated May 21, 1940. The project is under the supervision of the forestry service in co-operation with the Clark national forest. A similar project, also near Poplar Bluff, was sponsored by the Missouri federated club women.

A memorial honoring Mrs. Alice Cary Risley and sponsored by the department of Missouri Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic was dedicated May 19, 1940, at West Plains. Mrs. Risley, who was the last surviving member of the national organization of Civil war nurses, was an officer in the women's relief corps. The marker, bearing the inscription "Alice Cary Risley, 1847-1939, Civil War Nurse 1861-1865," was unveiled by Mrs. Edwina Trigg of Kansas City. Mrs. Risley's husband, the late Sam A. Risley, was the founder of the *West Plains Journal*.—From the *West Plains Journal*, May 23, 1940.

A marker at the grave of Benjamin Mason, Revolutionary soldier, in the Old Hickory Point cemetery near Green Ridge in Pettis county was unveiled June 30, 1940. The marker was erected by the Osage chapter of the D. A. R. of Sedalia. Mason, a native of Petersburg, Virginia, volunteered and joined the Continental army when he was 14 years of age, serving as a drummer boy. At the dedication service, a great-granddaughter of Mr. Mason, Mrs. Eri Anderson, paid a tribute to his life and Judge Dimmitt Hoffman made the address.—From the *Sedalia Democrat*, July 1, 1940.

A monument at the grave of Lieutenant Leonard Keeling Bradley, Revolutionary war veteran, in Bruce's cemetery near the Fairview church southeast of Huntsville, was unveiled Sunday, May 12, 1940. The Margaret Miller chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution at Huntsville was in charge of the exercises. The grave of Lieutenant Bradley was found about a year ago by Mrs. Mabel Holman and Mrs. Leonard Bradley, both members of the D. A. R. chapter.—From the Huntsville *Randolph County Times-Herald*, May 16, 1940.

Memorial services were conducted for Dr. William Beaumont, officer in the medical corps of the United States army from 1812 to 1840, on May 30, 1940, at Bellefontaine cemetery by the Lloyd R. Boutwell post of the American legion. Dr. Beaumont was a veteran of the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk war of 1832. The memorial address on the subject "Beaumont the Soldier," was delivered by W. R. Gentry, St. Louis attorney.

A bronze plaque was unveiled at the Des Peres Presbyterian church in St. Louis county on May 26, 1940, in commemoration of its establishment 107 years ago. The ceremony was under the auspices of the Webster Groves chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution. The church is one of five in St. Louis county built before the Civil war and still standing.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 26, 1940.

NOTES

An interesting article on land tenure in Harrison county appears in the *Bethany Republican-Clipper* of June 26, 1940. A tract of 160 acres has been in the continuous possession of the Butler family for one hundred years. The land was settled June 25, 1840, by Asaph McAllister Butler who was a native of Vermont. It is now owned by his grandson, Otis Butler.

The annual rural life edition of the *Boonville Advertiser*, issued July 26, 1940, commemorated the centennial anniversary of the paper. The 100-page edition contained many valuable historical and feature articles with excellent photographs illustrating many of the historical articles. The regular edition of the paper for July 26 contained an interesting letter from Dr. Henry Winston Harper, dean emeritus of the graduate school of the University of Texas, which recounted the history of the *Advertiser*.

A letter from Charles A. Juden which appears in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* of July 25, 1940, discusses the site which was set aside by Louis Lorimier, the founder of Cape Girardeau, for a seat of justice. The judges of the court of quarter sessions of the Cape Girardeau district who were appointed by Governor William Henry Harrison as the commissioners to receive proposals for the location of the seat of justice for the district, accepted Lorimier's offer of four acres of ground anywhere "between Thorne's creek and the Shawnee path," \$200 in cash, and the labor of one man for thirty days toward the erection of a public building. A proposition was under consideration in July, 1940, for the location of a new post office and federal building on the site.

The Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* launched an editorial campaign on June 6, 1940, to have the tombs of Major Louis Lorimier, founder of the city, and his consort repaired and preserved. The tombs are located in the Old Lorimier cemetery. In 1917 the Lorimier cemetery association erected a pagoda over the tombs for protection. Major Lorimier

died on June 26, 1812, and his Shawnee Indian wife died May 23, 1808.—From the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, June 6 and 7, 1940.

Morrell DeReign, abstractor, presented a history of land transactions in Pemiscot county in a recent address at Caruthersville, Missouri. A brief account of the address appears in the Caruthersville *Democrat-Argus* of May 24, 1940.

Articles of historical interest which appear recently in the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* are: "Jesse C. Carson, Grandson of Kit Carson, Enters Finnish Army" (May 7); "Livingston County's War Memorial Recalled Now During Library Week" (May 10); "First Motor Trip by Chillicotheans Started Thirty Years Ago Today" (July 5).

A list of the pastors of the Chula Methodist church since 1890 is given in the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* for July 10, 1940.

This history of Wheeling Christian church is outlined in an article which appears in the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* of July 15.

The Missouri State Highway T. R. No. 40, which is also known as U. S. Highway No. 61, has received its third official name, the Daniel Boone Parkway, by virtue of an order issued by the St. Louis county court. The order was granted at the request of a large number of petitioners, headed by R. R. De Armond, chairman of the St. Louis county planning commission, and Frank A. Singer. It was approved by the State highway commission and the planning commission.—From the Clayton *Watchman Advocate*, July 12, 1940.

An interesting history of the Tebo Baptist church in Henry county which celebrated the centennial anniversary of its founding, June 30, 1940, appears in the Clinton *Henry County Democrat* of June 27, 1940. The article was prepared by A. Loyd Collins of Clinton who was assisted by the Reverend Hugh Sperry.

Jackson's mill, a memory of early Clinton, is described in an interesting feature article which appears in the *Clinton Daily Democrat* of May 27, 1940. The article is illustrated with an excellent photograph taken of the mill in its heyday by Ellsworth Marks.

"One-Man Newspaper Staff" is the subject of an interesting feature article which appears in the *Columbia Missourian* of May 9, 1940. The subject of this article is J. L. Wilcox of Ashland who publishes the *Ashland Bugle*.

The brief history of East Prairie which Attorney John Fletcher read at the May meeting of the Mississippi County Historical society appears in the *East Prairie Eagle* of May 31, 1940.

The seventh annual souvenir edition of the rural life supplement to the Excelsior Springs *Daily Standard* was published July 25, 1940. Included in the interesting historical feature articles was "Varied Wealth of Clay County Is Seen in One-Day Tour of Rich Area" by Ethel Massie Withers. The seventy-four page supplement was in magazine form.

The campaign to have the temporary capital of Missouri located at Potosi in Washington county is described in an article entitled "Potosi Wanted the State Capital" which appears in the *Farmington News* of June 14, 1940.

"The County Historian" column conducted by Henry C. Thompson in the Fredericktown *Democrat-News* has included the following articles: "Madison County Organized" (May 2); "Fredericktown Chosen as County Seat" (May 16); "The Depression of 1819" (May 23); "Constitutional Convention of 1820" (May 30); "Cook Not Elected Senator" (June 6); "Economic and Social Life in the 1820's" (June 20); "Mining Activities 1820 to 1830" (June 27); "Home Life in the 1820's and 1830's" (July 11); "Events of 1820 to 1840" (July 18); and "The Panic of 1837-41" (July 25).

An interesting paper which was compiled and read by John S. Kochtitzky to the Cape Girardeau County Historical society several years ago was published serially by the Fredericktown *Madison County Press* during June and July, 1940. It describes a trip of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia to Oklahoma through Cape Girardeau. The paper, as it was published, appeared in the "Madison County Historian" column which is conducted by Mrs. J. W. Andrews.

A brief history of the New Bethel church in Pettis county which commemorated its centennial anniversary on June 30, 1940, appears in the *Green Ridge Local News* of July 4, 1940. The sketch was prepared by C. M. Licklider.

The historical articles by Dr. Bertha Booth which appear regularly in the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian* have included series on "Well-Known Early Residents of the County" and "Early Grocery Stores in Caldwell County." James R. Hemry is the author of one of the articles in the "Early Resident" series on "Haman Hemry" which appears in the issue of May 23, 1940.

Valuable articles which have appeared in recent issues of the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* include: "New Independence-Batesville Road Authorized in 1841" (May 16); "A Cass County Historical Society Should Be Formed" and "Two Hectic Congressional Conventions in Butler" (July 4); and "Immigration Society Helped Cass County in 1888" (July 18).

A brief sketch of Thomas R. Music, pioneer Baptist minister in Missouri, appears in the *Houston Herald* of July 18, 1940.

An historical chronology of Iberia junior college, compiled by Professor Gerard Schultz, appears in the *Iberia Sentinel* of May 23, 1940.

An interesting article entitled "Old Watkins Mill Stands as It Was When Abandoned 39 Years Ago" appears in the *Independence Examiner* of May 11, 1940. The Clay County Missouri Historical society is sponsoring a project to have a State park located at the site of the mill.

An interesting historical feature story for children entitled "Kansas City's Oldest 'Horse' " appears in the junior journal of the *Kansas City Journal* of June 9, 1940. The horse, once used to display harness to prospective buyers of the Santa Fe trade is a symbol of commercial life in the early days of Kansas City's history.

The new home of the Kansas City museum is described in an article which appears in the *Kansas City Star* of February 25, 1940.

An interesting article by Mary Ann Bodine on the life of Robert E. Coontz appears in the *Kansas City Star* of June 3, 1940. The article is entitled "Action for Stronger Navy Recalls Career of Missouri's Only Admiral."

An interesting feature article entitled "A Daughter of Jim Bridger's Partner Recalls the Scout" appears in the *Kansas City Star* of June 7, 1940.

The article by Austin Latchaw entitled "G. O. P. Recalls Its First Fateful Convention in Philadelphia in 1856" which appears in the *Kansas City Star* of June 26, 1940, contains an interesting account of the nomination of John C. Frémont as the Republican party's first presidential candidate.

The "dream" railroad of Dallas county is discussed in an article entitled "A New Freedom This Year in Dallas County's July Fourth" which appears in the *Kansas City Star* of June 30, 1940. It was not until July 1 of this year that the final payment was made on the bonds which Dallas county voted

seventy-nine years ago to help pay the cost of a new railroad from Lebanon through Buffalo to Fort Scott, Kansas. The railroad never reached Dallas county.

An article entitled "The Old Watkins Mill May Become a Museum in a State Park" by Ethel Massie Withers, president of the Clay County Missouri Historical society, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of July 28, 1940. The Clay county society has carried on a campaign for the past six years to have the Watkins farm with its old woolen mill converted into a State park.

Gordon Hudelson presents an interesting personality sketch of J. L. Wilcox, editor of the *Ashland Bugle*, in his "Missouri Notes" column of the *Kansas City Times* of May 24, 1940. Wilcox, who was once called the most extraordinary newspaper man in the world by Robert Ripley, has published the *Bugle* for the past sixty-three years as a weekly. It was established in 1875 as a monthly publication.

One of the two 45,000-ton battleships on which construction was started in June, 1940, was named *Missouri* by President Roosevelt. The *Missouri* is being constructed in the New York navy yard and is the first [?] battleship to honor the State's name.—From the *Kansas City Times*, June 15, 1940.

[Editor's Note: In 1839, a steam frigate was authorized and given the name *Missouri*. It was completed in 1842. A battleship of mixed calibre, authorized in 1898, was also given the name *Missouri*. At the present time, only battleships are named for states.]

A feature article, "Kansas City Firemen Showed World New Tricks in Paris 40 Years Ago," written by E. R. Schauf-
fler appears on the editorial page of the *Kansas City Times* for July 25, 1940.

Robert Birbeck is the author of a brief historical sketch of the Bethel Baptist church near Cosby in Andrew county which appears in the *King City Chronicle* of July 19, 1940.

The annual history dinner of the Pershing park association took place in Laclede, May 7, 1940. A feature of the day's program was a visit to the park which is the birthplace of General John J. Pershing.—From the *Laclede Blade*, May 10, 1940.

A brief history of the Mineral Creek Church of the Brethren in Johnson county appears in the *Leeton Times* of July 25, 1940.

Feature articles of historic interest which have appeared in recent issues of the *Lexington Advertiser-News* include: "Utt Brothers Recall Early Days When Trade Centered Along River" (May 2); a history of the Second Baptist church in Lexington (May 10); a brief history of Wentworth military academy (May 15); "Napoleon Is Site Where Lisbon Stood Over 100 Years Ago on Missouri River" (July 19); and "Poll Book of 1868 Gives Vote on Early Election in County" (July 24).

The booklet entitled "One Hundred Years of Freemasonry" compiled by Henry C. Chiles appears serially in the *Lexington Advertiser-News* during July, 1940.

The annual agricultural edition of the *Lexington Advertiser-News* which was issued July 16, 1940, contains several articles of historic interest.

"Jesse James' Home Has Gone Modern" is the subject of an interesting news story by Harvey J. Ray, editor, which appears in the *Liberty Chronicle* of June 13, 1940. The story is illustrated with two photographs of the James home.

J. Edward Johnson, a San Francisco attorney, is gathering data on the life of Peter Burnett, who was a pioneer attorney in Liberty in the 1830's and was the first territorial governor of California. Johnson is also gathering data for sketches of California supreme court judges, three of whom were born in Missouri. Hugh C. Murray was born in St. Louis

and became chief justice in 1852, John J. DeHaven was born in St. Joseph and became a member of the court in 1852, and Phil S. Gibson, a present member of the court, was born in Grant City.—From the *Liberty Tribune*, May 23, 1940.

A brief historical sketch of the Barry Christian church in Clay county which observed its centennial anniversary on May 26, 1940, appears in the *Liberty Tribune* of May 23, 1940.

A letter, dated December 10, 1923, from M. J. Morrison of Kansas City is published in the *Liberty Tribune* of July 4, 1940, under the caption "Ox Treadwheel and Old Wool and Hemp Mills Are Recalled." The letter gives information about the old mills in Clay county. Another letter, written by Mrs. Alice Baxter Bane to Miss Juliette Bird, is published in the *Tribune* of July 18, 1940. Mrs. Bane, who was born at Baxter's Landing ninety years ago, describes the landing, and a rope factory which her father conducted.

The address on "The History of the Tavern Bell at Arrow Rock" which Mrs. L. N. Dickson, organizing regent of the Arrow Rock chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution, delivered at a meeting of the Sedalia chapter, appears in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of June 12, 1940.

The address delivered by State Senator George A. Rozier, first vice-president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at the annual picnic of the Saline County Historical society appears in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* for July 18, 1940.

Charles Page is the author of an historical feature article entitled "The History of Arrow Rock Points to a Glorious Past" which appears in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of July 24, 1940.

"'Them Benton Things' are Finally Being Accepted by Missourians Visiting Murals" is the caption to an article by

Harold Stites which appears in the *Mexico Daily News and Intelligencer* of July 14, 1940.

A brief review of the history of Moberly appears in the *Moberly Monitor-Index* of May 2, 1940. The review was made by Mayor T. J. Tydings in dedicating the new municipal auditorium on May 1.

A brief history of the Mt. Shiloh Baptist church in Randolph county appears in the *Moberly Monitor-Index* of May 29, 1940.

A special memorial service was held June 16 at the Central Christian church in Moberly by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Division 86, in honor of the members who have died since the organization of the order in 1867. A list of the engineers so honored appears in the *Moberly Monitor-Index* of June 15.

A brief historical sketch of Ewing which appeared in the *Monticello Lewis County Journal* on October 7, 1919, is reprinted in the *Journal* of July 25, 1940. The article explains how the name of the community was changed from Briscoe's Station to Ewing in honor of the giantess, Ella Ewing, who lived near there.

A brief biography of John Calvin Whaley, physician and legislator of St. Clair county who was born December 16, 1838, near Palmyra, appears in the *Palmyra Spectator* of May 22, 1940.

H. J. Blanton, editor of the *Paris Monroe County Appeal*, conducts a reminiscent column entitled "When I was a Boy" which contains interesting material about early life in Paris and Monroe county. The column is similar to one formerly conducted by Mr. Blanton's father, B. F. Blanton, when he published the paper.

The arrival of the Clemens family in Monroe county, Missouri, before the birth of their illustrious son, Samuel, is the subject of the new mural completed in June by Fred G. Carpenter of St. Louis in the lobby of the Paris post office.—From the Paris *Monroe County Appeal*, June 20, 1940.

The *Pleasant Hill Times* of May 31, 1940, carries a letter from Professor Carle Zimmerman of Harvard university who is preparing a book to be called *Pleasant Hill, U. S. A.*, based on the history of the Missouri town.

A news story in the Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic* of May 8, 1940, describes the new edition of Judge D. B. Deem's *History of Butler County*. The first edition was published in 1925.

The prize winning essays in the contest sponsored by the Phelps County Historical society appear in the *Rolla Herald* of May 30 and June 20, 1940.

An interesting news story captioned "The Cyclone of 25 Years Ago on July 7, 1915" appears in the *St. Charles Cosmos-Monitor* of July 8, 1940.

Three historical feature articles by Harry Norman have appeared in recent issues of the *Ste. Genevieve Herald*. They are: "Strange Obsession of Noted Surgeon to Place His Dead Relatives in a Cave—His Other Eccentricities" which is based on the life of Dr. Joseph Nash MacDowell (May 4); "How the James Gang of Outlaws Robbed Bank in Ste. Genevieve 67 Years Ago—One Humorous Feature" (May 11); and "Piano Concert Recalls Mark Twain's Story of Blind Boone's Vigorous Spelling of 'Orang-Outang'" (June 1).

An article entitled "Traces of Ancient Habitation Uncovered by Expedition Here" is reprinted in the *Ste. Genevieve Herald* of June 15, 1940, from *Glass Rays*, a former publication

of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass company at Crystal City. The article describes the archaeological survey which is being carried on in Jefferson county.

"As a European Artist Saw St. Joseph in '50" is the title of an article by Howard I. McKee which appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 14, 1940. The article is based on the *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz* which was published by the Smithsonian institution in 1937.

"Only Battle Ever Fought Here Was 160 Years Ago Today" is the title of a valuable article which appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of May 26, 1940. The battle occurred about one o'clock on May 26, 1780, when the Spanish Governor de Leyba and his Spanish soldiers and French militiamen repulsed a force of about 1,400 Indians under British leaders.

The musical compositions of Miss Mary Warner Byars of Kirkwood are discussed in a feature article which appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of April 30, 1940. Miss Byars who is nearly deaf has composed musical accompaniments for some of the poems written by her father, William Vincent Byars, well-known editor, linguist, and writer. One of Miss Byars' songs, the words to which she wrote herself, is called "Dat Fas'natin' Rivah Gal!"

Ten photographs of Kennett's castle, the famous Mississippi landmark which has been restored recently, appear in the rotogravure section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* for July 21, 1940. The photographs are in color.

The Associated Press account of the beatification of Mother Philippine Rose Duchesne on May 12, 1940, appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of May 13, 1940. A description of the special services in St. Charles and St. Louis is included in the press account.

A personality sketch of Georgia Marshall Cragin of Joplin by Clarissa Start appears in the magazine section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of February 25, 1940. The sketch is entitled "She's a Writer of Mountain Music."

Nine photographs of the field mass conducted June 2, 1940, at St. Charles, Missouri, in honor of the beatification of Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne on May 12 at Vatican City appear in the rotogravure section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of June 9, 1940.

A letter from Bert Loewenstein which is published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of July 10, 1940, contains an interesting discussion on the spelling of Taum Sauk.

A news story entitled "White Haven, Grant's Old Home, Being Restored to Original State" appears in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of July 23, 1940. Mr. and Mrs. Delbert Wenzlick, present owners of the home, are having recent extraneous additions removed and the building restored to its former state. Two pictures of the home also appear in the *Star-Times*.

Brief historical sketches of Sedalia's churches appear in the Saturday issues of the *Sedalia Capital* during the month of June, 1940.

The *Unionville Republican* published a special memorial edition on May 29, 1940, which was dedicated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American legion to the soldier and sailor dead of Putnam county.

A brief historical sketch of the Thompson cemetery in Putnam county, prepared by C. L. Davis of Kirksville, appears in the *Unionville Republican* of June 12, 1940. The cemetery was started about 1848.

Mrs. C. M. Jaqua and Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Taubert, publishers of the *Warrensburg Standard-Herald*, issued a special edition, May 17, 1940, commemorating the seventy-fifth

anniversary of the founding of the paper. Among the valuable historical articles included in the edition are "Warrensburg and Its People" by Elizabeth F. Grover and "Johnson County, Missouri, Is a Symbol of the United States, Its Ideals and Its Traditions" by William Bruckart of Washington, D. C. The paper was founded as the *Warrensburg Standard* on June 17, 1865, by S. K. Hall and N. B. Klaine.

Among the articles of historic interest by J. L. Ferguson which have appeared in recent issues of the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* are: "A 50-Year-Old *Globe-Democrat* Brings to Mind Local and National History" and "Display in College Museum Cases Is Mostly of the Osage Indians" (May 3); "Charles Brammer Has 85-Year-Old Day Book Used in Old Town Store" (June 28); "Some Untold History of Warrensburg Found in Papers of Charles Brammer" (July 9); and "Mineral Creek Church Will Celebrate Seventy-first Anniversary on Sunday" (July 19).

The second annual photo-news edition of the *Warrensburg Daily Star-Journal* and the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* was published in July, 1940.

The history of the Market Street Methodist church in Warrenton which was prepared by Miss Laura Wright for the centennial service, appears in the *Warrenton Banner* of July 5, 1940.

Henry A. Smith of Kansas City is the author of a series of articles which appear in the *West Plains Journal* and the *Howell County Gazette*. The articles, which are published under the heading "The How, Why, When of Hutton Valley," contain much valuable historical material.

"The Pioneer Series" is the title of an historical feature column which Mrs. Ella Horak conducts in the *Willow Springs News*.

A medical diploma issued by St. Louis university on August 7, 1839, has been acquired by the university through the efforts of the Reverend Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., professor of history. The diploma was issued to Dr. Benjamin B. Brown and was signed by the Reverend J. Anthony Elet, S. J., president of the university; the Reverend George A. Carrell, S. J., secretary,² and later bishop of Covington, Kentucky; and the Reverend James O. Vande Velde, S. J., chancellor, and later bishop of Chicago. The diploma was donated to the university by Mrs. William A. Wishart of Oakland, California, a granddaughter of Dr. Brown.

The St. Louis offices of the American historic buildings survey presented a preview of the work in the Mississippi valley on May 2, 1940, in St. Louis. The display consisted of photographs, elevation drawings, and various archaeological objects, including in particular builders' hardware collected from St. Louis and Jefferson county, Missouri, and from Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Recent releases of the *Boon's Lick Sketches*, prepared under the auspices of the Historical Society of Howard and Cooper counties, have included articles on "The Hackley Mad Stone," "The New Franklin Road Lottery," and "Plastic Surgery Practiced in Howard County in the Fifties."

Fred M. Bailey is the author of a brief history of Missouri Methodism which appears in the central edition of the *Christian Advocate* for May 23, 1940.

The life of Dr. Andrew Taylor Still, a Missourian who was the founder of osteopathy, was dramatized by the National Broadcasting company on June 22, 1940. The program was presented on the occasion of the sixty-sixth anniversary of the founding of osteopathy and the assembly of the forty-fourth annual convention of the American osteopathic association and allied conventions in St. Louis.—From the *Journal of Osteopathy*, July, 1940.

"Old Drum, Immortal Missouri Hound" is the title of an interesting feature article by George Gantner of St. Louis which appears in the April, 1940, issue of the *Missouri Bar Journal*. The article is based on Senator George Graham Vest's famous "Eulogy to the Dog."

An article on the history and functions of the extension division of the University of Missouri appears in the May issue of the national university extension association *Bulletin* which is published at Bloomington, Indiana.

The "History of the University of Missouri Law School," prepared by Professor Percy Anderson Hogan for the *Centennial History of the University of Missouri*, appears in the *Missouri Law Review* for June, 1940. Dr. Jonas Viles is the author and editor of a recent history of the university.

An abstract of a paper entitled "The Organization and Work of the Phelps County Historical Society" by Dr. Clair V. Mann of the Missouri School of Mines and Metallurgy appears in the June, 1940, issue of the *Proceedings of the Missouri Academy of Science*. Dr. Mann is secretary of the Phelps county society.

John H. Long, State manager, and Bailey H. Mayes, financial manager of the Missouri state-wide highway planning survey are the authors of an interesting study on local motor fuel taxes and motor vehicle license fees which appears in *Public Roads* for May, 1940. The magazine is a journal of highway research issued by the federal works agency of public roads administration.

The Carl Milles fountain, called the "Wedding of the Rivers," in Aloe plaza at St. Louis is described in the article "St. Louis' New Aloe Plaza" by William E. Hoesflin which appears in the *Union Electric Magazine* for July, 1940. The fountain was dedicated on May 11, 1940.

The address delivered by W. R. Gentry, St. Louis attorney at the memorial services for Dr. William Beaumont at Bellefontaine cemetery on May 30, 1940, appears in the *Weekly Bulletin* of the St. Louis medical society for June 14, 1940.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers. By Elijah Harry Criswell. University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XV, No. 2, April 1, 1940. (Columbia, 1940. 316 pp.) It is impossible to deal with the language of a country without becoming involved in its history. This work, which is a study of the vocabularies found in the extensive journals kept by members of the momentous Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806, presents a new and very intimate approach to the early history and conditions of Missouri and the West. A history of words used by a race or nation and a history, in turn, of the things these words denote constitute the history of the race or nation itself.

Few explorers were more faithful or scrupulous than Lewis and Clark in filling their journals with succinct descriptions of events, the Indians, the geography, and the various phenomena encountered in the West. This recent publication, which is a word study presenting the way of life of the expedition as described in the vocabulary of the diarists, sketches the expedition in general and the "things" discovered and then lists and classifies the words used or invented to describe the discoveries. Probably the more valuable portion of this work, philologically, is the Lewis and Clark lexicon with an alphabetical list of over 1,500 terms selected for special study. This systematic and thorough study of the records of the linguistic pioneers, although made primarily as a result of the popular movement to show what is typically American in our language, gives a keen insight into life as it really was on our western frontier.

Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies. Edited by John Francis McDermott and translated from the French by Albert J. Salvan. (Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma press, 1940. 309 pp.) This is no ordinary travel sketch and the

author, Victor Tixier, a young French medical student, was no ordinary traveler. He possessed a high degree of literary competency and considerable artistic ability. After returning to France, he gained distinction in his medical profession and it appears he was generally known for his interest in anthropology and philology. The translating and editing of his account of a trip to the Osage prairies has made available to students and general readers a rare item of Missouriana and western Americana.

Tixier, who wrote for the entertainment of his friends, arrived in New Orleans on January 27, 1840, and five days later began to ascend the Mississippi river. There was little in the flora and fauna of the regions through which he passed or little in the behavior of the people he met that escaped his attention.

From St. Louis, he traveled by steamboat to Lexington, Missouri, where he disembarked and took a stage to Independence. Procuring horses, he immediately set out for the Osage village which, from his map, seems to have been located just west of present Vernon county, Missouri.

This edition of Tixier's travel record is especially valuable because of the detailed information it gives on the life, social customs, and habits of the Osage Indians, less than two decades after their removal from Missouri soil. There is scarcely a phase of Osage Indian life not mentioned in this book.

In Chapter V is Tixier's account of his stay in St. Louis, his trip up the Missouri river to Lexington, and his overland trip to Independence and south to Harmony Mission. Chapter XI is a record of his return trip down the Osage river to the Missouri and thence to St. Louis.

Some 350 scholarly footnotes add materially to the value of the work as well as a selective bibliography and index. In addition, the book includes some drawings Tixier made of the Osages and also his sketch of the route taken through the Osage country. This book is an outstanding contribution to the history of the Osages and the near Southwest.

Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King. By J. V. Frederick. (Glendale, Calif., The Arthur H. Clark company, 1940. 334

pp.) Ben Holladay, termed "one of God's gifted children," operated business and financial enterprises reaching in their scope from New York to Oregon. His fame as "The Stagecoach King" and the glamour of his Overland mail and express activities have completely overshadowed his career as a freighter, trader, land speculator, owner of a line of Pacific steamships, and railroad builder. At the age of twenty, he was operating a saloon at Weston, Missouri, and soon thereafter became a supply contractor for the army. He is noted as the founder of the freighting system to help the Mormons in their migration to the West, and was among the first to attempt trailing cattle across the mountains to California. By daring enterprise, he laid the foundation for a western trade that in 1852 was worth half a million dollars a year to Platte county, Missouri, alone.

In his palmy days, Holladay collected over a million dollars annually from the government in mail contracts and received a correspondingly large amount from passenger traffic to the Pacific coast. He owned a magnificent home, "Ophir Farm," on the Hudson and a mansion in Washington and was a lobbyist in both state and national legislatures. The life of no other man is more illustrative of the varied careers of men who made fortunes—and lost them—in the early days of the West with its unlimited opportunities.

In this biography of one of the West's most energetic and glamorous personalities, the author has combined scholarship with more than ordinary literary ability. The work is well documented, contains a select bibliography, a map of Holladay's stage lines, and a comprehensive index filling sixteen double-column pages.

Lee on the Levee. An historical novel. By Ralph Cannon. (New York, The Saravan House, 1940. 188 pp.) This novel, hailed by some as the "lost chapter in the life of one of America's most glamorous heroes," portrays the dramatic story of Lee's life in St. Louis and his work there on the channel of the Mississippi river. In it are recorded incidents connected with the building of the levee and the final removal of Duncan's island by the current of the river. It is said that by

forcing the Mississippi river to return its vagrant channel from the Illinois to the Missouri shore, this noted army engineer, saved St. Louis from becoming a "ghost town" and made possible the further development of the present city, the metropolis of the upper Mississippi valley.

The author increases the historical value of the story and gives additional perspective to his study of Lee by associating this army engineer with such outstanding contemporaries as Dr. William Beaumont, one of the first scientific physiologists, Henry Kayser, an early St. Louis engineer, and Henry M. Shreve, superintendent of western waterways and the inventor of the steam snagboat. This work, together with the author's references to the accomplishments of James Buchanan Eads, is subtly suggestive of the literary value of the still unexploited history of a scientific subject like engineering.

Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, Vol. II: Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542. By George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. (Albuquerque, New Mex., The University of New Mexico press, 1940. 413 pp.) This book is the second of a series of eleven volumes to comprise the Coronado Historical series, a monumental work now being prepared by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial commission to commemorate the historic Spanish exploration of the entire Southwest. In addition to containing a well-edited translation of the major documents dealing with this important phase of the history of the Southwest, the volume has a comprehensive and lengthy introduction which is written in a semi-popular vein and which presents a chronological account of the exploration. The documents brought to light and translated present interesting and at the same time invaluable source material. The testimonies of Coronado and López de Cárdenas, the two men chiefly responsible for the exploration, are in themselves almost a history of the expedition, describing many events and giving an element of contemporary color that could not be gained from secondary sources.

Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley. By Harold E. Briggs. Illustrated. (New York, D. Appleton-Century company, 1940. 629 pp.) Fifteen years of study, research, and writing have gone into this outstanding history of the Northwest, an area comprising the states of North and South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming, overlapping into Idaho and northern Colorado. By a careful reconnaissance of the country made famous by Buffalo Bill, Sitting Bull, and Custer, the author has been able to recapture much of the color and romanticism of the great Northwest.

The volume is divided into six parts, each representing a different frontier, or a different phase in the history of the region: the frontier of the miner, the buffalo, the cattle-rancher, the sheep-rancher, the settler, and the farmer. The stories told about Independence, Westport, and St. Joseph as outfitting and trading centers give a picture of the part Missouri has played in the development of the region.

The author, head of the department of history and professor of history at the University of Miami, was head of the social science department and professor of history at Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Missouri, from 1928 to 1935. His familiarity with the history of the West has enabled him to fill every page of the book with material of interest and historical value. The work bears the stamp of authenticity, and general readers and students will find it interesting as well as instructive. It contains an eighteen-page bibliography, a fine arrangement of footnotes, excellent pictures, and a relatively complete index.

Dictionary of American History. Vols. IV and V. Edited by James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. 512 and 515 pp.) This outstanding work had its beginning in response to the demand of librarians, teachers, and historians for a reference work in which could be found quickly, easily, and in concise form, accounts of the chief events in the nation's history. The appearance of these two volumes marks the completion of the work with the exception of the index volume, which will be the sixth volume in the series. The editors, after making an

extensive survey, assigned each of the various subjects to the historian or historians most familiar with the particular phase of American history. More than a thousand historians joined in the writing of the various articles. An extensive system of cross references makes it easy for the reader to find related subjects included in the publication. Missouri authors contributed a considerable number of articles and many of the most significant facts in the State's history may be found in this edition.

Missouri, Its People and Its Progress. By Earl A. Collins, and Albert F. Elsea. Illustrated. (St. Louis, [etc.], Webster Publishing company, c1940. 455 pp.) This book was written as a social studies textbook for the junior high school grades. The work opens with an account of the discoveries of seventeenth century explorers and ends with a section entitled "Provisions for the Future," a chapter on conservation. The book was designed to develop among young students an understanding and appreciation of Missouri's natural resources and the important part played by the State in the growth of national economy and enterprise. The textbook is divided into eleven sections of several chapters each and on the whole is well organized and indexed. After each chapter are suggested activities and assignments, completion and true-false tests covering the material presented, and collections of suggested readings. Two hundred and forty pictures, ten maps, and short biographies of Missouri's thirty-nine governors add materially to the intrinsic value of the book.

History of Butler County, Missouri. By David Bruce Deem and Roberts V. Stanard. Illustrated. (Poplar Bluff, Mo., Popular Bluff Printing company, 1940. 211 pp.) This second edition of the history of Butler county is dedicated to Daniel Shipman, the first white man born near where Poplar Bluff now stands. The first part of the slender volume is devoted to county history and the last half to the biographies of sixty-nine of the county's leading citizens. The sketches of the earthquake of 1811-1812 and the early settlement, industries, transportation, medicine, newspapers, education, and religion

of Butler county are quite comprehensive. Considerable space is given to the history and commercial development of Poplar Bluff which is the county seat and the largest town in the county. The work contains an excellent collection of pictures and portraits, a detailed table of contents, and an index to the biographies.

Blessed Philippine Duchesne, Pioneer Apostle of the Sacred Heart: A Sketch. By Eugene P. Murphy. (St. Louis, The Radio League of the Sacred Heart, 1940. 31 pp.) Mother Duchesne, the subject of this sketch and the founder of the Society of the Sacred Heart in America, is now generally recognized as the leading benefactress of pioneer Missouri. She founded a school for girls at St. Charles in September, 1818, and in April, 1825, she opened at Florissant the first Catholic school for Indian girls in the United States. Forty colleges and seminaries in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and New Zealand owe their origin directly or indirectly to the work of this saintly mother in Missouri. The first name on a large bronze tablet in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis, erected to those who gained distinction in early Missouri, is "Venerable Rose Phillippine Duchesne." The present sketch is a carefully prepared digest of her life and work.

The Life and Works of John Rothensteiner. By Sister Mary Callista Campion. (Urbana, Ill., 1940. 23 pp.) This booklet is an abstract of a thesis which the author presented as part of the requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy in German at the University of Illinois. The work is divided into three parts: a biography of Father Rothensteiner, his status as a poet-translator, and his position as a literary critic. Because of the many unpublished letters and papers which were made accessible to the author, this is the most complete and most authentic study that has yet been made of this Missouri prelate, author, and scholar.

Centennial Address: One Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Lexington. By Henry C. Chiles. (Lexington, Mo., Lexington

Lodge No. 149, A. F. & A. M., 1940. 23 pp.) Lexington Lodge No. 149, previously Lexington Lodge, U. D., founded one hundred years ago, is a lodge of importance in the history of the State. Such outstanding Missourians as John Aull, pioneer merchant and the founder of a chain of stores, William H. Russell and William B. Waddell of Pony Express fame, and many others were members of this noted lodge. It was largely because of the position of Lexington as the center of Masonry in Missouri that the Masonic college was located there in 1847. In this address, the speaker, past grand master, traces the history of the lodge, presents considerable biographical material on the men who have figured in its development, and gives a brief history of the Masonic college. The publication is highly authentic and is a contribution to the history of Masonry in Missouri.

A Guide to Historic William Jewell College and Clay County, Missouri is the title of a twenty-two page booklet prepared by the department of public relations of William Jewell college in collaboration with the Clay County Missouri Historical society and published by William Jewell college at Liberty, Missouri, July 4, 1940. Ten pages are devoted to historical buildings, scenes about the campus, and the various literary and scientific collections at the college. The brochure includes special descriptions of various historic scenes and buildings in Liberty and Excelsior Springs. P. Casper Harvey, director of public relations at William Jewell college, acknowledges his indebtedness to Mrs. Robert S. Withers, Liberty, Edgar Laffoon, Kearney, and Miss Margaret K. Stewart, Excelsior Springs, for much of the material presented.

An Outline History of the First Presbyterian Church, Mexico, Missouri, 1841-1940. By Addison A. Wallace. (n. p., [1940]. 43 pp.) A Presbyterian church was organized at Mexico, Missouri, in 1841 but was disbanded four years later and then reorganized in 1851. The author of this historical brochure, the present pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Mexico, has served this noted Missouri church since 1887. Because of his close connection with the church for more than half a

century, he speaks with authority on its history and substantiates his personal recollections with the church records. In this book, he presents in narrative form the history of the institution and gives the names and terms of office of the various pastors, elders, deacons, and evangelists who have been identified with the organization. The booklet contains pictures of the old and new church buildings which in themselves help to trace the history of the church.

A List of Published Writings of Special Interest in the Study of Historic Architecture of the Mississippi Valley. National Park service, Historic American Buildings survey. Mimeographed. (St. Louis, 1940. 22 pp.) This bibliography is divided into seven parts. The first section deals with the general history of American architecture and the second part lists the material on the different states of the Mississippi valley region. In this second division, ten works are listed for Missouri. Headings for the other divisions are "Architects of Note," "Ironwork," "The Greek Revival," "Log Construction," and "Miscellaneous."

"The Old Courthouse" by Stella M. Drumm and Charles van Ravenswaay, appears in *Glimpses of the Past*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-6, January-June, 1940, published by the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. In this valuable forty-one page study, the authors have reviewed the history of the old courthouse in St. Louis. The deed for this historical building has been transferred by the city to the federal government and the building is now being made one of the chief attractions in a national memorial to Thomas Jefferson and westward expansion. The story of how this structure was built and decorated is given in considerable detail. In addition, the authors have included accounts of many events which have added to the historical significance of the famous courthouse.

Missouri Farm Census by Counties, 1939. By A. C. Brittain, T. C. M. Robinson, Henry H. Baker, and Jewell Mayes. Missouri State Department of Agriculture, *The Bulletin*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 12 (Jefferson City, 1940. 24 pp.) In

this work, are listed according to counties detailed statistics on Missouri crops and livestock for the year 1939. The bulletin contains a general survey of the quantity and value of farm products in the State and a comparison of 1938 and 1939 figures.

The Birth of Kansas. By G. Raymond Gaeddert. University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies. (Lawrence, Kan., 1940. 232 pp.) This work, a revision of the author's Ph. D. dissertation, treats the political history of Kansas from 1859 to the end of Governor Charles Robinson's administration in 1862. Chapter VII, "Factional Conflicts: Lane vs. Robinson 1861-1862," is of special interest to students of Missouri history because of the light it throws on the life of James H. Lane, the leader of border troops during the Civil war.

Backwoodsmen, Daring Men of the Ozarks. By George Clinton Arthur. (Boston, The Christopher Publishing house, c1940. 99 pp.) The highland region of southern Missouri was explored by white men more than two centuries ago, yet there are men still living who may justly be called pioneers of the Ozarks. In this simple but rousing story, the author has been able to publish, over the signature of his principal characters, a true story of the lives of four locally-famous men. The story is rich in local color and portrays as few works do the hardships and customs of the pioneers. It is also an interesting and important chapter in the history of the lumber industry in Missouri.

A valuable historical article, "Early Western Experiences," the reminiscences of John S. Hough, appears in the May, 1940, issue of *The Colorado Magazine*, published by the State Historical society of Colorado at Denver. Hough, who first attempted to cross the plains in 1849, has left an excellent account of his experience on the trail and the Santa Fe mail stage. His reminiscences picture his life in the Southwest, and also include much of interest on the life of F. E. Aubrey, a noted traveler and trader.

A six-page biographical study entitled "Basil Wilson Duke, 1838-1916, One of the Founders of the Filson Club," written by James W. Hennigg, appears in the April, 1940, issue of *The Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, published at Louisville, Kentucky. Duke began practicing law in St. Louis in 1858 and in January, 1861, he was made the chairman of the "Military Committee of the Minute Men." During the war, he fought with his brother-in-law, John Hunt Morgan, and when the latter was killed in September, 1864, Duke became the commander of the regiment popularly known as "Morgan's Cavalry." In addition to his career as a soldier, lawyer, and politician, Duke was a writer and editor. His work in organizing and leading the St. Louis "Minute Men" in the opening months of 1861 gives him a definite place in the history of the Civil war in Missouri.

For a Better Kansas City. (Kansas City, The Social Improvement League, [1940]. 8 pp.) In this brochure, the Social Improvement League presents a concise history of its fight for more rigid law enforcement in Kansas City. The story begins with the organization in 1913 of the Society for Suppression of Commercialized Vice, the forerunner of the league. Since that date, the society has carried on an active campaign for more rigid enforcement of existing laws and the adoption of additional anti-vice legislation.

A Brief History of the Bulldogs. By H. L. McWilliams. Northeast Missouri State teachers college, *Bulletin*, Vol. XL, No. 5. (Kirksville, Mo. 1940, 11 pp.) This brochure contains the copy of a speech delivered by H. L. McWilliams, a former member and later coach of the Kirksville Bulldogs, at the homecoming assembly at Kirksville on November 3, 1939. The address treats briefly the history of football as it has been directed and played at the Northeast Missouri State teachers college since 1899.

An article "75 Years of Progress" by H. W. Becker, general secretary of the Missouri Church and Sunday School council, appears in the July, 1940, issue of the *Missouri*

Sunday School News published by the Miller press in Washington, Missouri. The article begins with an account of the first state-wide convention held in October, 1866, treats the incorporation of the Missouri Sunday School association on August 25, 1893, and reviews briefly the history of the organization.

The 1940 directory of Fredericktown, Missouri, contains an eight-page history of Madison county compiled by Mrs. J. W. Andrews, president of the Madison County Historical society and president of the federation of historical societies in southeast Missouri.

"Captain Samuel Highsmith, Ranger" by Maude Wallis Traylor appears in the April, 1940, issue of the *Frontier Times*, published at Bandera, Texas. In addition to presenting a biographical study of Samuel Highsmith, a pioneer settler in Missouri, this article contains a reference to manuscript census records for St. Charles county for the years 1817 and 1819. These rare documents were recently found by Mrs. A. R. Pearson. Through the courtesy of her father, Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, Missouri, the Society has been permitted to make a photostatic copy of these valuable manuscripts.

PERSONALS

JOSEPH H. BROGAN: Born in St. Louis, Mo., March 30, 1880; died in St. Louis, July 22, 1940. Mr. Brogan was serving his eighth consecutive term in the State senate at the time of his death. He shared honors for seniority in point of service in the State senate with Mr. Michael E. Casey of Kansas City. Mr. Brogan was majority floor leader in the senate in 1937 and in 1939 he became president *pro tempore*. In that capacity, he served twice as acting governor of the State. The State senatorship was Mr. Brogan's only public office and he made it his career, being one of the dominant figures in the Missouri legislature. Mr. Brogan studied law in the night classes of St. Louis university and began his practice in 1920.

WILLIAM SMITH BRYAN: Born in St. Charles county, Mo., Jan. 8, 1846; died at Nevada, Mo., July 13, 1940. Author, historian, and journalist, Mr. Bryan leaves as his best known works *Pioneer Families of Missouri* which was published in 1876 with Robert Rose as coauthor and *Our Islands and Their People* which was published in 1899 and 1900. In 1866, he founded the *News* at Wentzville which was later moved to St. Charles and became one of the antecedents of the present *St. Charles Banner-News*. He also edited the *Montgomery County Standard* and in 1880 started the historical publishing company of St. Louis with branches in eastern cities. In 1898, Mr. Bryan edited the *Mississippi Valley Democrat* in St. Louis and in 1906 he became the editor of the *United Editors Encyclopedia* and an assistant editor of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. The late Dr. W. W. Elwang of Columbia, who interviewed Mr. Bryan in 1935, provided this additional list of Bryan's contributions to history: *Footprints of the World's History*, published in 1893; *America's War for Humanity*, published in 1898; eight volumes of Dr. John Clark Ridpath's *History of the United States*; and the last three volumes of Ridpath's *Universal History*. Mr. Bryan was very proud of an unusual honor bestowed on him by the Cherokee Indians. At a conclave in Youngstown, Ohio, they elected him an honorary chief and sachem of the tribe.

WILLIAM T. COUGHLIN: Born in Phelpston, Ontario, Canada, in 1873; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 22, 1940. An outstanding surgeon, writer, and teacher, Dr. Coughlin had been connected with the St. Louis university medical school for the past twenty-nine years. He had been head of the department of surgery since 1920 and was also surgeon-in-chief for two hospitals affiliated with the university. In 1920, he was elected to the council of judges of the Nobel prize committee, serving in the physiological and medical division.

NELLIE E. HANNAN: Born near Brookfield, Mo., Oct. 22, 1877; died in Brookfield, June 11, 1940. Miss Hannan was secretary and treasurer of the *Linn County Budget-Gazette* publishing company in Brookfield. She began her newspaper

career as a typesetter on the *Brookfield Argus*. Since 1909, she has been one of the publishers of the *Brookfield Gazette* which was consolidated several years ago with the *Linn County Budget* as the *Linn County Budget-Gazette*.

JOHN MORTON HAZELTON: Born near Shawnee, Ohio, in 1866; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 15, 1940. An outstanding authority on Hereford cattle in the United States. Mr. Hazelton was cofounder and for twenty years editor of the *American Hereford Journal*. Mr. Hazelton held a number of newspaper positions and served at one time as city editor of the *Kansas City Times*. He was the author of the three editions of the *History and Handbook of Hereford Cattle*, and the *History of Anxiety 4th Herefords*.

JOSEPH WARREN JAMISON: Born near Bolivar, Mo., Jan. 22, 1868; died in St. Louis county, Mo., July 15, 1940. An outstanding Missouri attorney for almost fifty years, Mr. Jamison devised the State's present ballot and had a guiding hand in writing the present election laws. He was admitted to the bar in 1891. President Grover Cleveland appointed him to a four-year term as the register of the United States land office at Boonville. After the completion of his term, he served Boonville as city counselor. In 1903, he moved to St. Louis and from 1909 to 1913 he served as the Democratic member of the St. Louis board of election commissioners. In that capacity, he was called upon to help draft the revised laws and the new style ballot. Mr. Jamison was chairman of the public utility section of the American bar association in 1928-29, and in 1930 he served as president of the Missouri bar association.

JOHN M. KENNEDY: Born at Wellsville, Kan., May 22, 1883; died in Kansas City, Mo., July 22, 1940. Mr. Kennedy represented the sixth district of Jackson county in the forty-sixth and forty-seventh general assemblies of Missouri. He also served as a municipal court judge and a justice of the peace in Kansas City. He was educated at St. Marys college, Creighton university, and Georgetown university at Washington, D. C.

ROBERT LEE KENNEDY: Born in Springfield, Mo., in 1870; died in Springfield, May 11, 1940. Kennedy began his newspaper career in 1886 as a reporter on the *Springfield Leader* which was published by his father, Daniel Curran Kennedy. With the exception of one year, he continued his connection with the Springfield paper until ill health forced his retirement in 1937. After his father sold the paper to H. S. Jewell in 1895, he became managing editor and held the position until the *Leader* was sold again in 1928. He then became the "Old Timer" columnist for the paper.

WILLIAM E. ROLFE: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Jan 1, 1874; died in St. Louis, July 15, 1940. Mr Rolfe served St. Louis as an engineering official for city improvement and utility work for thirty-eight years. He was educated in the St. Louis manual training school and Washington university. In 1934, he was engineer of the regional planning association, preparing reports on the history, the geology, and the physical characteristics of the St. Louis region and making fiscal and economic studies. From 1935 until 1938, he was office supervisor of the regional planning commission. He served as editor of the *St. Louis Engineers' Club Journal* from 1918 until 1933.

CURTIS BURNAM ROLLINS: Born in Columbia, Mo., July 18, 1853; died in Columbia, July 24, 1940. Mr. Rollins was the son of Major James S. Rollins, who is known as the "father of the University of Missouri." He held three degrees from Missouri university, A. B., LL.B., and A. M. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa fraternity and also the Zeta Phi fraternity which later became Beta Theta Pi. Mr. Rollins had an extensive knowledge of the history of Missouri, particularly of the central section of the State, and of the University of Missouri. He was personally acquainted with the founders of the university and with all of its presidents, except the second. He also knew all of the members of the boards of curators and served as a member of the board from 1908 to 1919. His father was an intimate friend of George Caleb Bingham and Mr. Rollins owned the original painting of Bingham's "County Election" and the only existing litho-

graphic copy of "The Verdict of the People," the original of which hangs in the St. Louis art museum. The lithographic plates of the latter painting were made by Goutil of Paris and were destroyed in a raid during the Franco-Prussian war. Mr. Rollins edited the letters of George Caleb Bingham to his father, which were published in the *Missouri Historical Review*. He was an honorary member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

MYRT A. ROLLINS: Born in Fairfield, Va., Feb. 7, 1886; died in St. Louis, Mo., June 10, 1940. Mr. Rollins represented the fifth district of St. Louis in the fifty-second general assembly of Missouri. He also served St. Louis as assistant city counselor for eleven years and was a member of the board of education for a number of years. He was educated in the public schools of St. Louis and the University of Tennessee.

THOMAS J. ROWE, JR.: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 9, 1882; died in Chicago, Ill., July 17, 1940. Judge Rowe was educated at Washington university and admitted to the bar in 1906. He served as special assistant attorney general of Missouri under Attorney General Frank W. McAllister during the administration of Governor Frederick D. Gardner. In November, 1936, he was elected to a six-year term as judge of the eight judicial circuit in St. Louis.

GEORGE WARE STEPHENS: Born at Wapello, Ia., Sept. 18, 1878; died at Webster Groves, Mo., May 13, 1940. Dean Stephens became a professor of economics at Washington university, St. Louis, in 1919. He served as dean of freshmen from 1926 until 1929 when he became dean of students. In 1939, he was appointed dean of the college of liberal arts. Dean Stephens held degrees from Iowa Wesleyan college, Wisconsin university, and the University of Maine.

MRS. VIRGINIA ALICE COTTEY STOCKARD: Born near Edina in Knox county, Mo., March 27, 1848; died at Nevada, Mo., July 16, 1940. Widely known as the founder and builder of Cottey college for girls at Nevada, Mrs. Stockard served

as its president until 1929 when she became president emeritus. In 1927, Mrs. Stockard gave the college, which she had founded in 1884 with the aid of her two sisters, to the P. E. O. sisterhood and it is now under the administration of that organization. Mrs. Stockard was educated in the rural schools of the State and was permitted to attend school of a higher grade for one and one-half years. Her teaching career began in the rural schools of Missouri. She also taught in Richmond college and old Central college at Lexington before going to Nevada in 1884 to found her own school.

RUFUS ADAIR VANCE: Born at Marshall, Mo., Jan. 16, 1872; died in New York, N. Y., May 30, 1940. Dr. Vance was assistant superintendent of schools in charge of elementary grades in New York City. He was educated at Missouri Valley college at Marshall and Columbia university.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

THE STORY OF THE MULLIGAN BABY

From the Milestone Edition of the *Lexington Advertiser*, October 30, 1930.
Extracts from an article written by W. D. Meng.

A French military authority, writing before the World war, terms the capture of Lexington the greatest bit of strategy in the history of warfare. Certainly the successful siege of that city in September, 1861, was the strangest battle of the Civil war, and taken all in all the battle's story is a paradox of blood and beauty; a story of confidence and its undoing; of the good offices of a Confederate leader and the gentleness of woman to woman, and lastly a gesture of gratitude that endured a quarter of a century.

.... The principals of the siege were General Sterling Price, Virginian and brigadier general of the volunteers in the Mexican war, commander of the Confederate (State) forces, and Colonel James A. Mulligan, native of New York, a resident of Chicago and commanding officer of a regiment of fighting Irish....

Flashing a jeweled saber presented to him by an admiring group of patriotic women, Colonel Mulligan led his regiment to the westward, for it was recruited in the early days of the war. On September 8 the federal forces found Lexington easy of entry. Masonic college.... made an ideal fort. Overlooking the Missouri river and well above the town, it seemed impregnable. Throwing up earthworks and improvising a foundry in the basement for the manufacture of ammunition, Mulligan enjoyed the ill-founded faith that he might remain there so long as he desired. As a whole it was a stalemate as the siege began.

.... When a minor horde of Confederates approached from the west by river, the unusual features of the battle unfolded. Down the river in skiffs they came with hemp bales floating alongside each little boat. The bales had been impressed from a warehouse in Wellington. From the boat landing there they were towed and floated near the south bank of the river, too near the shore to come within the range of cannon angles and all but unobserved by the sharpshooters who soon were to be surprised as an advancing enemy neared them protected by movable breastworks of water soaked bales that only grew more weighty with the rounds of minnie balls and from which, at unknown angles, the fire of Confederate sharpshooters took a terrible toll. The fancied security was challenged and overthrown. Permanence had been temporized and with water supply cut off, the holders of the fort with parched lips tore the paper of their cartridges, grim with the certainty of eventual defeat.

On the third day of disaster for Mulligan and his men, the final chapter came. Leonine hearted fighters declared they never would surrender, but

wiser judgment prevailed and September 20, though not unprotested, a white flag waved above the college trenches and before nightfall the sword of Colonel Mulligan had been delivered to his conquerer, Sterling Price.

Whether from the hardships of rough life in the field of war or from a broken heart that he so signally had failed, Colonel Mulligan was a sick man as he declined parole and became a prisoner of war. . . . Mrs. Mulligan was granted audience by General Price to whom she preferred the request that she might accompany her husband hoping to nurse him back to health. Visibly touched by the loyal wife's plea, the Confederate general was firm in his denial of her request. Her husband was a prisoner of war, he explained gently and would be shown as such, every courtesy, but there was propaganda to be considered. Were she and her baby to accompany him, the news, distorted, would flash throughout the land that the Confederate forces were taking women and children prisoners. Mrs. Mulligan still pleaded, arguing that her husband's life was in the balance. Then it was that generous to a fallen yet respected foe, General Price assured Mrs. Mulligan that she might go along with her husband if some one could be found to care for the baby. The plight of this cultured Chicago woman was pitiful. She and her child were strangers in the land of the enemy, for most of Lexington was Southern in its sympathy, but the heart of a mother called to another heart in the language anguish knows and from the ranks of rebel womanhood, Mrs. Sara Hunter stretched out her arms to the Mulligan baby and promised it no less attention than she had given her own. . . .

There is the legend of how General Shields coming to the relief of Colonel Mulligan, arriving after Price's men had marched and how an order was given to burn Lexington; how Mrs. Hunter with the Mulligan baby in her arms pleaded for the town that gave sanctuary to the offspring of the enemy; how Shields was touched by the act of this Southern woman and granted amnesty from the torch. . . .

Years passed. The war came to its end. Hatreds of conflict and the days of reconstruction had cooled to tolerance. . . . The ink of history had dried for twenty-five years on the pages where the siege of Lexington had been written and outraged feelings had been tempered when a reunion staged by the Blue and the Gray was to mark the anniversary. Mrs. Mulligan was the surviving principal of the tragic history and the joint committee of "Yanks" and "Rebels" agreed she was to be the honor guest of the occasion.

The invitation was extended and there was surprise in her reply. A woman's gratefulness reached out across the years. Keenly she felt the honor tendered her, she wrote, but she could not accept it. Gladly, however, would she share it with the Southern woman who had opened her arms and her home to the "Mulligan baby." And so it was that from California came Mrs. Sara Hunter to ride at the side of Mrs. Mulligan, co-guest of honor, at the head of parading veterans who clasped hands across the once dividing line and pledged forgetfulness of differences that once had made them enemies. . . .

HISTORY'S FACTS CLASH FANCIES

From the Milestone Edition of the *Lexington Advertiser*, October 30, 1930.

When fact and fancy clash many a pretty legend is spoiled. . . . The story of the Mulligan baby to whom a Lexington secessionist home was opened as sanctuary that Mrs. Mulligan might accompany her invalid husband to nurse him while he was a prisoner of war has been told over and over and as the tale unfolded Miss Marian Mulligan rode with her mother and Mrs. Sara Hunter in the honor carriage at the Blue and Gray reunion in Lexington in September, 1886.

Scanning some correspondence in the archives of the [Lexington] historical society, B. M. Little finds the appended correspondence affording documentary evidence that the then Miss Marian Mulligan did not accompany her mother to Lexington on the occasion of the reunion and in fact documentary evidence shows that the Mulligan baby never visited this city except the one time when she was one year old.

In a letter dated May 16, 1917, written to the late E. N. Hopkins, Mrs. Marian N. Carroll, "the Mulligan Baby," says: "I was unable to visit Lexington at the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration. My only appearance in that part of the world having been at the early age of one year."

MARK TWAIN'S BIRTHPLACE

Editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 11, 1940.

Now we wouldn't deny in the least even a small part of Hannibal's pride in Mark Twain. Sam Clemens lived there from 1839 to 1853—from the time he was 3 until he set out to see the world as a journeyman printer at the lusty age of 17. There the pilot-to-be first knew the Mississippi on languorous summer afternoons, first watched it go on rampages in the spring, saw it pile up ice floes when winter came down and locked the valley. Tom Blankenship, who suggested Huck Finn, lived in Hannibal in those robust years, and so did Uncle Dan'l, the slave from whom Nigger Jim was drawn. There was Cardiff Hill, the mysterious cave, those joint adventures of Tom Sawyer and Samuel Clemens. A great page in American literary history—Hannibal's.

But the fact remains that Mark Twain was not born in Hannibal. That distinction belongs to a hamlet of 200 souls in Monroe county, Florida by name. One of Mark Twain's famous witticisms was: "Two towns claim me. Hannibal claims I was born in Florida, and Florida claims I was born in Hannibal." Florida was a log-cabin village of the Missouri wilderness when the Clemenses lived there and Judge Quarles unwound calico in his store. Today it is hardly as much of a community as it was a century ago. But it is going to take a new grip on life. It is going to measure up to its place in the world.

Plans are already laid. The visitor of the future who passes through Florida will find the old Clemens home re-established on its original site. He will find log dwellings and other structures restored as in frontier days.

He will find hiking trails, drives, bridle paths, and places to swim and row and go fishing near the Old Mill Dam. He will find, rebuilt perhaps, the old Buchanan Tavern, which Grant used as a campaign headquarters.

Go to it Florida! Hannibal can claim Mark Twain as a boy, Virginia City as an adventurer, Hartford and Redding as a famed man of letters. Only the cluster of houses on South Fork in Jefferson township can call itself his birthplace.

CHRISTMAN, MISSOURI'S FIRST CITIZEN

Editorial from the *Kansas City Times*, November 14, 1939.

Ask anybody back East to name Missouri's first citizen just now, and he very likely will mention, not Bennett Clark, or Lloyd Stark or Maurice Milligan, but a young blond-thatched giant named Paul Christman. As most who read this will probably know, young Christman is no statesman. But he is a hell-for-leather quarterback on the Missouri university football team whose forward passing, running with the ball, punting, blocking, tackling, and repartee have riveted the attention of the sports-minded nation on him as that attention is riveted on nobody else in the football firmament.

Yes, "Pitchin' Paul" might be said to be Missouri's most prominent citizen just now. The big "44" on his jersey and his face, with its strong Scandinavian accent, are known from coast to coast.

And why shouldn't they be? In addition to being a superb football player, and a wise-cracker whose irrepressible outbursts have earned him the name of "the Dizzy Dean of football," he is a combination of a lot of distinctly Missouri characteristics. Let's analyze Mr. Christman:

He has the airy self-confidence of Mike Fink, the old boss of the Missouri river keelboats, and all of Mike's ability to take care of himself. He also has Daniel Boone's ability to hit the target he aims at; the daring of Jo Shelby, the old cavalry raider; Thomas Hart Benton's penchant for orating on any occasion; drawling humor reminiscent of Mark Twain; and, finally, the ability to kick that characterizes the Missouri mule.

All of which makes him a simon-pure product of Missouri, and, therefore, fully worthy of the best attention the nation can focus on him.

STEAMER "JAMES H. LUCAS" BEGINS OPERATION

From the *Glasgow Weekly Times*, April 6, 1854.

Capt. A. Wineland's new boat, the *Jas. H. Lucas*, passed up the other evening and attracted no little attention. She is of Louisville build, and her construction was superintended by Capt. W. himself. The accounts which preceded her, thought by many to be exaggerated, scarcely come up to the mark. Capt. W. has spared no pains or expense to make her what she is—one of the best boats ever built for the Missouri river trade. The object has been to combine speed, convenience and beauty, and there is no part of this handsome structure which does not bear evidence that these requisites of a first class boat have been attained.

The Lucas' draught is remarkably light being only 30 inches, with all her equipment on board. Her dimensions are as follows: Length on deck, 225 feet; breadth of beam, 34 feet; depth of hold, 7 feet; cylinders, 26 inches, and 7 feet stroke; four boilers, 40 inches in diameter 28 feet long. She will continue under command of Capt. Wineland, well known to the business men of the Missouri as a clever, business-like and accommodating gentleman. Mr. C. W. Pomroy is clerk; to whom we are indebted for papers. See her card in to-day's paper and note her days, for your next trip.

She had a fine band of music on board, and as she lay at our wharf over night, our citizens were treated with a serenade.

SPANISH GRANT TO DANIEL BOONE CONFIRMED

From *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 736.

Communicated to the House of Representatives, December 24, 1813.

Mr. McKee, from the Committee on the Public Lands, to whom was referred the petition of Daniel Boone, made the following report:

That the petitioner was invited by Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, under the Spanish Government, to remove from Kentucky; and, as an inducement to his removal, promised the petitioner a grant of land in that country. The petitioner did remove to Louisiana before the year 1798; and, on the 24th day of January, 1798, he received from Zenon Trudeau a concession for one thousand arpents of land, situated in the district of Femme Osage; had the same surveyed on the 9th of January, 1800. It further appears that the petitioner was, on the 11th June, 1800, appointed, by Don Charles D. Delassus, then Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, commandant of the Femme Osage district, and resided in the vicinity of the land granted to him for eight or nine years, but never settled on or cultivated the same. It is alleged by the petitioner, that he failed to settle and cultivate the land granted to him in consequence of his being informed by the said Delassus that his appointment to the command of the Femme Osage district exempted him from the condition of settling and cultivating the land granted to him, a condition generally required by the Spanish laws from the citizens receiving grants of land in that country, under the Spanish Government. . . .

The committee, therefore, recommend the following resolution:

Resolved, That Daniel Boone be confirmed in his title to one thousand arpents of land, in the Femme Osage district, granted to him by the Spanish Government. . . .

Colonel D. Boone stated to the Board that, on his arrival in Louisiana, he took his residence with his lady, at his son Daniel M. Boone's, in the said district of Femme Osage, and adjoining the lands he now claims; that they remained there till about two years ago, when he moved to a younger son's, Nathan Boone, where he now lives. It was proved that the said claimant is of the age of about seventy years, and his wife about sixty-eight. . . .

Testimony taken, February 13, 1806; Jonathan Bryan, being duly sworn, says that he knew Colonel Daniel Boone in this country in the year 1800....

[*Editor's Note:* A deed, executed by Daniel Boone, to a part of this grant was presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri at the annual meeting in May, 1940, by Honorable and Mrs. George H. Williams of St. Louis. The deed is to 161 acres of land that is now the property of Mr. and Mrs. Williams. It was witnessed by Boone's son, Daniel Morgan Boone, and John B. Callaway.]

THANKSGIVING QUAKE RECALLS THOSE FAMOUS "SEVEN SHOCKS" OF 1811
From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 26, 1939.

The great-great-grandfathers of many of those St. Louisans whose reading of the *Globe-Democrat's* Thanksgiving issue was disturbed... by an earthquake, had themselves looked up from their papers on Monday, December 12, in 1811—128 years ago—to announce to the family: "See, it's just as I told you. Editor Charless says that there were seven shocks."

Editor Joseph Charless was the founder of the *Louisiana Gazette*.... His issue of December 12 [1811] records that on Monday last—which would be just a week before—there had been earthquake shocks at 1:45 a.m., 2:47 a.m., 3:34 a.m., one "a little after daylight," at 8 a.m., and 11:30 a.m., and "another at about the same hour on Tuesday." He didn't know, yet, nor did anyone in St. Louis, that the earthquake had centered at New Madrid, where the whole countryside was desolated, and the very face of the earth had been changed by the upheaval.... His was the only newspaper west of the Mississippi river. And so a few brief paragraphs in the *Louisiana Gazette* recorded what was the greatest earthquake America has ever experienced. In a wild and unsettled country, the damage it did in money sense was comparatively little. Yet that damage, to the individual settler whose farm clearing had become a lake, or whose home had disappeared in a crevice in the earth, was utter ruin.

Editor Charless, with great brevity, however, for everybody in St. Louis certainly knew all about it anyway, did write down that in the "little village under the hill," where the National Park Service is now creating the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, chimneys toppled and "a few houses were split;" that the river was suddenly and unusually high, and that the fog appeared to have covered the houses with a frost.

Those were the first of a series of shocks that continued for weeks; that toppled over some of the monumental landmarks along the rocky banks of the Mississippi below St. Louis; that created Tennessee's Reelfoot Lake....

Two historic scientists were firsthand observers of the New Madrid earthquake—John J. Audubon, over in Kentucky, and the Englishman, John Bradbury, who was traveling south from St. Louis to New Orleans on a keel boat of which Joseph Morin was patroon, according to the *Louisiana Gazette*, which on March 7, 1812, had just heard of the English-

man's arrival at his destination after a journey of twenty-eight days. At "the Devil's Race Ground," 120 miles below New Madrid, chronicles the *Gazette*, Bradbury had counted twenty distinct shocks.

Bradbury had stopped at New Madrid—where, he says, there were only two stores and a few straggling houses—on the night of December 14. The next night the boat tied up at a small island not far from Little Prairie, a short distance below the town. There followed a night of terror, ushered in when a first earthquake shock tore "a chasm in the island 4 feet wide and 80 yards in length." . . . Bradbury records that he noticed "the sound which was heard at the time of every shock, always preceded it at least a second, and that it always proceeded from the same point and went off in an opposite direction. . . . At daylight we had counted twenty-seven shocks, during our stay on the island." . . .

Somewhere near the heart of that catastrophe a daring young American, accompanied by his bride, was navigating from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, a curious craft named for the latter city. She was the first steamboat to make the trip. She bravely outrode that upheaval of the river which thrust up from the bottom great trees buried many years before. And her advent at Natchez on January 6, 1812, where she overtook the naturalist Bradbury, was the real beginning of regular Mississippi river "steam boating." That intrepid and daring, and strenuous young adventurer was buttressing the fortunes of a family which was to become historic for intrepidity, strenuousity and daring, and give this nation two famous assistant secretaries of its navy. He was Nicholas J. Roosevelt, great-grand uncle of President Theodore Roosevelt, and a cousin four generations removed of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, besides being a great-great-grand uncle of the President's wife, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

RENAULT'S EXPEDITION

From Henry C. Thompson's column "The County Historian" in the *Fredericktown Democrat-News*, February 8, 1940.

A more successful party than any that had preceded it was organized in 1719 by Philip Francois Renault. . . .

In 1718, the year after the "Company of the West" was chartered, an establishment was made about fifteen miles north of Kaskaskia and also on the east bank of the Mississippi. The new settlement was called Fort de Chartres and became the seat of government for the company. A company called the "Company of St. Philip" had been formed as a subsidiary to the "Company of the West" and the expedition under Renault came under its auspices. Renault was a native of Picardi, France, and was the son of Philip Renault, a noted and wealthy iron founder of Consbre, near Marbeuge in France. . . . He was wealthy enough to properly outfit himself and knew what he would need. Recruiting a body of two hundred or more miners and mechanics, he left nothing to chance. Knowing that the proper tools were scarce in a new country such as he was starting out for, he had even the bricks made in Paris with his name on them. The sur-

veyor Cozzens a good many years ago found one of these bricks while making a survey on Fourche à Renault. Another has been found on an old mining road near Mine La Motte.

It was for Fort de Chartres that Renault sailed in 1719. His ship was stopped at the Island of San Domingo which was the usual stopping place for vessels bound for New Orleans. There he took on fresh supplies. The usual statement quoted by most historians is that he took five hundred slaves from there but this is very unlikely for the census reports of the period prove that there were not that many Negroes in the entire territory. Renault's charter called for twenty-five Negroes to be sent to him every year and it is these Negroes that are the ancestors of many of our present colored folks.

Renault reached New Orleans in 1720 and soon proceeded up the Mississippi to Fort de Chartres. Near there he established a small village and called it St. Philippe, after the company of which he was the head. It was his own baptismal name as well as that of his father.

No sooner had Renault settled himself at his new village than he started parties of explorers out to discover or rediscover the most likely places to start mining operations. Renault undoubtedly had the reports of previous explorers and he writes in his reports that he found De la Mothe Cadillac's test pits at the present Mine La Motte. Renault had his weather eye open for gold and silver but he was smart enough to know that there was money to be made in the mining and smelting of lead ores that he had located and he finally gave up the idea of finding the precious metals. On the fourteenth of June, 1723, Pierre Duque de Boisbriant and Marc Antoine de Le Loire des Ursins granted Renault a league and a half on the "Negro Fork of the Marameig" later known as "le Grand Fork of the Marameig" and which we now know as Big River. They also granted him a tract of land two leagues square at Mine La Motte. Des Ursins we mentioned as having come with the expedition of Crozat but he and many of his companions had remained in the "Illinois country." Bienville has been appointed governor of Louisiana for "The Company of the Indies." He laid out the town of New Orleans and appointed his nephew Boisbriant as commander at Fort de Chartres. Their right to grant land to Renault was never questioned but why did Renault seek personal grants of land? He was supposed to be working for the best interests of his company.

Renault's mining activities were very extensive. There is a tradition that he worked as far away as Saline county but of this there is no proof He operated Mine La Motte and this mine accounted for a good proportion of the lead he shipped to New Orleans and from there to France. His extensive operations continued but in 1725 we find him heavily in debt to the company. His credit was cut off and he had a severe struggle to continue his mining operations. In 1731 the whole territory was retroceded to the Crown. The "Mississippi Bubble" had burst and thousands of people in France lost millions of dollars in this venture. Renault remained in the "Illinois country" until 1742 when he returned to his native land and in 1744 he sold his holdings to the government. It is claimed that many

of his men returned to France with him but recent research is developing the fact that most of the men remained in this country and are the ancestors of many of the old French families of the district.

Work in the mines never entirely ceased. Some of the men continued to work the diggings and later claimed title to them. Mine La Motte was confirmed by an act of Congress to Francois Valle, Jean Baptiste Valle, Jean Baptiste Pratte, and St. Gemme Beauvais who claimed title as heirs of Renault....

After Renault left the territory and disbanded his organization, the men who attempted to work the Mine La Motte and other mines in the district were not numerous enough or powerful enough to cope with the marauding bands of Indians and it was several years before we find any great amount of mining activity....

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